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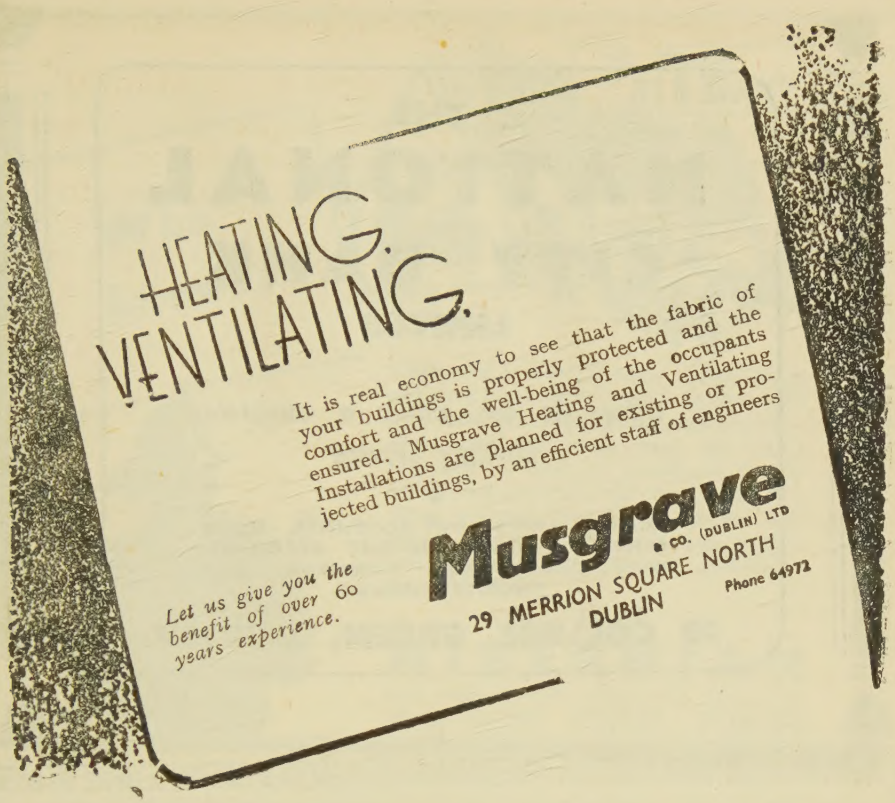
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I

O'CONNELL was born at Carhen House, about a mile from Cahirciveen, on the 6 August 1775. In accordance with an old custom that survived in many parts of Ireland, he was placed in fosterage with the wife of a herdsman of his father, and his first years were spent in the homes of the country people. Irish was the first language he spoke, and up to the night of his death he said his prayers in that tongue. The first images that filled his impressionable mind were of the environment of the Kerry peasants, their wants and needs, and their simple joys, all too rare in that era of oppression. It was during his earliest youth in the country cabins that young Daniel acquired that understanding and democratic love of the people that he carried with him through life. He learned their songs and dances, joined in their sports and hurling matches and hunting expeditions; he knew their habits and customs and failings and appreciated every delicate shade and rough crudity of the Irish character. That accounted for the great influence he exercised over the people later on. And that too was why, in his political career, he preferred some concrete concession that would benefit his people to a more abstract and revolutionary principle the quest of which might be fraught with peril for those whose practical needs he knew so well.

Daniel was adopted by his childless uncle, Maurice O'Connell of Derrynane. He was taught at home until the age of fifteen, when he spent six months at a school kept by Father Harrington at Reddington, two miles from Cobh. Then, accompanied by his younger brother Maurice, he was sent to school on the Continent, in 1791, to the English Catholic college of Saint-Omer. There he studied Greek and Latin, French, English, etc.; the president of the college predicted a brilliant career for young Daniel. After a year and seven months the two O'Connells were transferred to the English College at Douai. But their college career was destined to be interrupted: early in 1793 the revolutionary forces suppressed the Catholic colleges and Daniel was forced to leave France and return to Ireland.

The Irish parliament had just grudgingly admitted Catholics to the Bar; so in 1794 O'Connell went to Lincoln's Inn, London, where he worked hard and lived frugally until 1796 when he came to the King's

* Substance of a lecture delivered, under the auspices of the Save Derrynane Committee, in the Mansion House, Dublin, on the 15 May 1947.

Inn, Dublin, to complete the required number of terms before being called to the Irish Bar. In his very first month in Ireland he felt, as he quaintly puts it in his diary, " the mild warmth of patriotism " ; and it is interesting to note that his first patriotic ambition, noted in the same diary, was to " give cheerfulness and ease to the peasantry . . . I will endeavour to give liberty to my country, and increase the knowledge and virtue of the human kind."

But the revolutionary fever that had been sweeping France had left him uninfected. He writes in his diary : " Liberty is in my bosom less a principle than a passion . . . The liberty which I look for is that which would increase the happiness of mankind. To the services of this liberty I have devoted my life and whatever talents I have or may acquire." The following year he wrote : " Moderation is the characteristic of patriotism—of that patriotism which seeks tor the happiness of mankind. There is another species of patriotism caused by hatred of oppression ; this is a passion, the other is a principle." A young man of twenty-one O'Connell had already made up his mind to enter parliament and to attach himself " to the real interests of Ireland." His resolution seemed to be unduly optimistic, for parliament was still closed to Catholics.

The young law student was called to the Bar on the 19 May 1798. He mingled at this time with revolutionary circles in Dublin ; many of his friends were United Irishmen, and there are indications that he sympathized with the objects of this movement. But he had no faith in appeals to force : his own experience in revolutionary France and the atrocities perpetrated in the suppression of the 1798 rebellion strengthened his distrust of revolutionary methods. He wrote in his diary : " The altar of liberty totters when it is cemented only with blood, when it is supported by carcasses."

II

O'Connell made his first public appearance in politics at a meeting summoned to oppose the Union in Dublin in January 1800 on the eve of the opening of the last session of the Irish parliament. The Catholic leaders had been supporting the Union in their hope of winning emancipation from a British parliament less intransigent than the Ascendancy Irish Protestants. O'Connell, John Philpot Curran and a few supporters took the long view that it was easier to overthrow the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland by popular agitation than to win concessions from an English parliament. But O'Connell was then in a minority ; even his nearest relatives were on the side of the Union. On that occasion he made a notable speech : he expressed political convictions to which he remained faithful to the end of his life.

His predictions were fulfilled. The Union was passed, and England refused to fulfil her promise of Catholic relief. The Protestant archbishops

of Canterbury and Armagh effectively organized opposition against any concessions to Catholics. Even when the victories and growing power of Napoleon frightened England and made her realize the need to encourage Irish soldiers to enter the British army, two bills were vetoed in 1807 that were meant to legalize the practice of their religion for Catholic officers in the army. When Earl Grenville, the prime minister, resigned, an anti-catholic party swept the country with a "no popery" slogan. Catholic relief bills were introduced almost every year and were eloquently defended by Henry Grattan and a small group of tolerant members; but they were always whittled down and made useless by clumsy clauses inserted to satisfy the prejudice of the Protestants. Between 1795 and 1808 several attempts were made to give the king a veto on the appointment of Irish bishops and to impose an oath of allegiance on parish priests, and many Catholics were prepared to accept such odious conditions in return for emancipation. But O'Connell led the opposition to any interference by the government in the internal affairs of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

From the year 1800 O'Connell had been using his dynamic personality to infuse a new spirit into the people, in whom a century of penal laws had planted an apathy and hopelessness that we find it hard to conceive to-day. 1807 marked a special turning-point in agitation methods. The Catholic Committee had been representative only of the nobility and the prosperous merchants of the towns; their chief method of winning relief had been humble and repeated petitions for concessions. O'Connell planned a new method of securing popular demands, and his method has played the chief part in winning most of the later reforms from emancipation to land purchase. His system rested on the fundamental basis of democratic action everywhere: that the opinion and will of the whole people cannot be permanently flouted. We do not realize now how novel his method was: the great Liberal theorists, who were credited with the most advanced democratic views, were satisfied with organizing educated middle-class opinion in favour of their thesis; they were willing enough to make liberty an absolute, but the value of human personality, in the peasant as well as in the cultured burgher, generally escaped them.

O'Connell's material was not encouraging. Half the people were illiterate, and even those who had managed, in spite of the penal laws, to secure a rudimentary education were not accessible to political ideas or normal propaganda: the fear of the landlord was always there to deter the people from listening to any leader at all. This hitherto amorphous mass of the people of town and country had not received the attention of the Catholic Committee; it is one of the main achievements of O'Connell first to have realized their importance and then to have set about organizing them into a democratic machine that aroused the attention and admiration of all Europe. The positive legislative concessions secured by O'Connell

are not his greatest title to our gratitude; but the spirit he infused into the hopeless peasantry was to stamp a character on Irish nationality that lasted down to the nineteen-twenties. Many of the faults that critics find in O'Connell were developed in the difficult work he had to do in rousing a spiritless people: his violent language, sometimes vulgar and vituperative, his showmanship and posing, his ruthless way of dealing with opponents in debate—these were devices that suited the simple, rough audiences to whom he had to speak; it may be added that his demagogic traits sprang naturally enough from his own exuberant temperament.

O'Connell was a master in exploiting every situation for the cause he had taken to heart. Freedom of the Press was unknown in the Ireland of that period: when Mr. Magee, the Protestant editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, ventured to defend the Catholic claims and to criticize the viceroy in 1813, he was at once prosecuted for libel before a corrupt judge and a packed jury. When O'Connell, briefed for the defence, saw the shameless jury-packing, he knew he had no chance of a verdict for his client; so he boldly converted the court into an arena for publicizing Irish political grievances. His speech at the trial, his exposure of the undemocratic character of British administration in Ireland and of the corrupt nature of English justice, were big factors in making the people see that O'Connell was the leader they needed. He had broken with the old tradition of approaching a contemptuous government on bended knees for humble favours and spoke instead of rights and justice.

III

Weak men, even the great Grattan, were for accepting a diluted and qualified emancipation. But O'Connell opened a campaign for full emancipation without humiliating qualifications and vetoes. So daring was his policy then considered that many looked on him as an extremist and a revolutionary; Richard Lalor Sheil parted company from him because he thought O'Connell's plan of agitation was too audacious and drastic. With Napoleon defeated, England had now grown strong and confident; while in Ireland, as Sheil tells us, there was a total stagnation of public feeling in 1823—" a state of degrading and unwholesome tranquillity . . . the country was palsied to the heart." Dr. Doyle, bishop of Kildare (J. K. L.), helped to arouse new hope in the despondent Catholics by the famous tract that he published at this time. After the famine of 1820 an organised campaign of proselytism and souperism—" the second reformation "—was in progress under the guidance of the Protestant archbishop, Magee. It was then that O'Connell threw himself into the task of enrolling the whole Irish people in a big agitation for full religious, civil and political liberty.

But the apathy of despair was difficult to eradicate. Only twelve

supporters of emancipation attended a widely advertized meeting summoned in Sackville Street on the 10 May 1823. The energy and the magic eloquence of O'Connell gradually dissipated the despair. Archbishop Murray and Bishop Doyle did everything they could to support the new movement; in a short time O'Connell's Catholic Association numbered half a million members. The Duke of Wellington and George IV soon became alarmed at the rapid spread of the organization. A coercion act to suppress unlawful associations was passed in 1825; but so strong had the emancipation agitation grown that the government thought it necessary to introduce an emancipation bill admitting Catholics to parliament and to municipal corporations, but with conditions attached that were unacceptable to Catholic opinion. It was, however, killed by a fresh outburst of sectarian prejudice.

O'Connell started a new Catholic Association to replace the association just suppressed; and to evade the law he called his Catholic Rent a "fund for the relief of distressed Catholics." He was now so confident in the unity and strength of his organization that he decided to try a daring experiment in 1826—to put up a candidate in one of the safest landlord seats in Ireland, that of Waterford. O'Connell's organizing success can be measured from the fact that for the first time the Catholic freeholders had the courage to use their votes against the landlord, for hitherto they had been regarded as "part of the live stock on the estate" to be marketed like the other animals. But now the serfs revolted: O'Connell's candidate, Villiers Stuart, won the seat and the triumph was soon repeated in Louth, Westmeath and Monaghan.

But these Irish victories had, as yet, little effect on the undemocratic British parliament, which rejected another emancipation bill as soon as it met after the election. In 1828 the Duke of Wellington became prime minister and Peel leader of the House of Commons, and all hope of emancipation seemed to be dead. It was then that O'Connell inaugurated a new technique that has often been effective since then: though ineligible to sit in parliament as a Catholic he decided to contest the Clare election against Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who had been made a Colonial Minister by Wellington. O'Connell's journey from Dublin to Clare showed the enormous hold he had now gained on the people and the extent to which he had aroused their national consciousness. What Sir Walter Scott described as the "sobered and desperate enthusiasm of the men of Clare" taught a democratic lesson to all Europe by returning O'Connell in what had been a safe landlord seat; the world was shown the undemocratic character of British institutions and the very unmaternal attitude of the mother of parliaments, when a duly elected member was denied his right to take his seat.

Other factors were now active to help O'Connell's movement. Liberal opinion was progressing among the English Whigs. The Commission

of Inquiry into the State of Ireland set up by parliament in 1825 had accumulated some damning evidence; the skilled and able testimony especially of Bishop Doyle had made a strong impression on educated English opinion and was a factor in eventually breaking down the turrets of bigotry that the victor of Waterloo had built around his position. English leaders, like Sydney Smith and William Cobbett, and our poet Thomas Moore, were using their influence in favour of Catholic emancipation.

But the great force was still O'Connell's movement. He had shown the world what an undemocratic façade was the British constitution. Enthusiasm for Irish emancipation had been enkindled all over Europe, and statesmen were gazing at England from under raised eyebrows from every corner of the Continent. Irish and Catholic elements were being aroused and organized in America. But the most effective factor of all was the terrible machine that O'Connell had constructed in Ireland—enthusiastic, disciplined, obedient to the smallest orders of the leader. It was perhaps the greatest of all O'Connell's achievements that he united the whole Irish nation to an extent never previously realized and never equalled since. It was taking five-sixths of England's military force to police Ireland, although the smallest violation of the law did not disturb the constitutional character of the movement.

When parliament met in 1829 emancipation had become inevitable. The greatest tribute to O'Connell's methods was paid by Wellington when he defended the Emancipation Bill before the House of Lords. The Archbishop of Canterbury had proposed the rejection of the bill; the Protestant Primate of Ireland had seconded the rejection. Only one Protestant bishop, the bishop of Oxford, spoke in favour of the measure. Wellington pointed out the expediency of passing the bill: the thorough organization of Ireland boded mischief "We are asked: Why do you not carry the law into execution? Why, my lords, in all I have stated hitherto there was no resistance to the law." That was the secret of O'Connell's success: had there been violence and lack of discipline, the old methods of repression would have promptly put an end to any hope of betterment.

IV

It must be conceded that the actual merits of the Act of Emancipation were slight enough. Important reliefs had already been wrung from the Ascendancy parliaments—for the English Catholics in 1791, for the Irish in 1793. The Bill was hedged around with guarantees for Protestants and disabilities for Catholics. The most fatal disability of all deprived the forty-shilling freeholders of their votes just when O'Connell had made them conscious of their power and courageous enough to use it according to their own rather than their landlords' wills. Other disabilities O'Connell

hoped to make inoperative in practice: his great knowledge of the law made him an adept at driving a coach-and-four through acts of parliament. There was a fundamental principle of the flexible British constitution that the astute lawyer always bore in mind: that custom, precedent, and common law were always advancing ahead of the written statute and very often annulling it altogether. That had seen many practical applications in Ireland in O'Connell's own day, when many of the penal statutes had already become obsolete in practice. Failure to advert to this point has inspired much unfair criticism of O'Connell.

One vital principle was conceded by the 1829 Act that is at the very basis of democracy—the right of the whole people to political as well as to civil rights: the right of all, without discrimination of religion, to become their country's lawmakers. This concession, qualified as it was, made all the difference between oligarchical dictatorship and some form, however limited, of democracy. That is why O'Connell can be said to have injected the first really substantial dose of democracy into the British constitution. To appreciate its value we must understand how thoroughly unrepresentative the British parliament was at this time. Great towns like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Sheffield, now centres of great industries and big populations, had no parliamentary representation at all, while decadent villages with only half a dozen votes had two seats in parliament. Gatton, with one resident elector, had its M.P.; Old Sarum, near Salisbury, had only a thornbush. Less than 6,000 votes could return a sufficient number of members to parliament to ensure a majority, and these votes were marketable commodities, often offered openly at landlord's auctions.

All the same, the raising of the voting qualification from forty shillings to ten pounds was a disaster for Ireland: the number of voters was reduced overnight from 200,000 to 26,000, But that Emancipation was not the diluted freedom that many have since sought to show is clear from the enthusiasm with which it was received in Ireland. O'Connell was welcomed back as a conqueror. The anger of the Protestant Ascendancy and the fury of George IV are also a tribute to the Bill. The English king had written to Pitt many years before (in 1801) that Catholic emancipation—the admission of Catholics to parliament—would change the whole foundations of the British constitution; and there is little doubt that it did. It was feared that the king would provoke a constitutional crisis by refusing to sign the Bill. He cried out petulantly: "Wellington is king of England, O'Connell is king of Ireland, and I suppose I am only considered Dean of Windsor." He envisaged the Duke of Clarence as Catholic king of England, "and they will only have to send for Dr. Murray and Dr. Doyle to educate the princess Victoria."

But the greatest triumph achieved by Emancipation was the democratic principle demonstrated by O'Connell—the power and legitimacy of mass

action from below. The great Liberal theorists, who were hailed to have taught the principles of liberty to the world, from Locke to Mill, had little practical thought for the mass of men—Mill indeed positively feared the majoritarian power of mass-opinion. Democracy for them meant freedom for a narrow coterie of middle-class intelligentsia. That government is legitimate only by the consent of the people was a scholastic axiom clarified especially by St. Robert Bellarmine and Suarez, but few of the political theorists had accepted it in practice. O'Connell was the first European leader to revive and apply the principle, to seek from the people the demand and the mandate to exercise control over government. His method was the very opposite of the great Liberal revolutionaries and philosophers of the period who had started with abstract revolutionary principles of their own invention; these they popularized as slogans to rally armed minorities, and the people were merely the instruments used to achieve their own ideals. O'Connell, himself a man of the people, was less intent on abstract ideas and principles than on the will and the welfare of the people.

V

But O'Connell's work had only begun. On the morrow of Emancipation he wished to make repeal of the Union the issue of the Clare election that should give him the right to sit in parliament; but his Whig allies would not permit him to raise that issue just yet. The very important Reform Bill of 1832 was passed largely through the support of O'Connell and his group of fifty-three Irish members. Though its benefits to Ireland were slight, it extended the franchise very considerably in England; it redistributed seats, abolished the rotten boroughs, and weakened the power of the aristocratic Ascendancy. In this extension of democracy O'Connell saw the basis for future concessions to Ireland. In practice the result of the Bill was to give power to the middle class capitalists; so far from genuine democracy was the new parliament that only one working-class representative was returned—William Cobbett.

In 1833 O'Connell intensified his agitation for repeal. But he found it hard to arouse enthusiasm on this issue: Catholic emancipation had been a simple and concrete issue; repeal was something too remote and visionary to appeal to the poor people, illiterate and hungry as most of them were. They were interested in more concrete and immediate benefits to ease their lot. These O'Connell sought by co-operating with the Whigs. He devoted his energy to seeking a remedy for the tithe injustice. 850,000 episcopalian Protestants ruled eight million Catholics in their own exclusive interests; the Catholics had to pay for the support of the Protestant clergy, while their own clergy lived in abject poverty; they had to maintain the Protestant churches, while they themselves had to assist at Mass in mud cabins and portable arks—which some landlords would not even

permit on their estates. The Liberator toured England and Scotland in a campaign against the autocracy of the House of Lords, then the chief obstacle to further reform; he was received enthusiastically all over the great cities of the North. So influential had he become in Britain that even the *The Times* of London gave verbatim reports of his speeches.

The benefits O'Connell received from his alliance with the Whigs seem slight enough on paper. But many practical advantages accrued to the Irish people that time has dimmed. Between 1835 and 1840 Ireland was administered, under the benignant under-secretaryship of Drummond, in a comparatively humane spirit of justice. But on the whole, O'Connell's period in the British House of Commons between 1832 and 1840 was a political experiment that tended to show the futility of Irish parliamentarians expecting concessions from a British parliament as it was then composed. The fundamental reform that would give Irish democracy a chance was being continually postponed. The Whig government were afraid of the growing power of labour; agitation, riots and the Chartist movement made them fear that further reform would threaten their capitalist interests.

O'Connell is sometimes blamed for not having thrown himself more enthusiastically into the labour agitation that was then developing. But for him everything was a side-issue except reform, repeal and the urgent needs of the Irish peasant tenants. That he was a genuine friend of the worker is clear from the testimony of the only working-class candidate elected to the 1832 parliament, that robust democrat William Cobbett, who declared: " O'Connell is the only public man who retains the confidence of the English Radicals." By 1838 O'Connell had come to realize that the chronic misunderstanding of Ireland by British statesmen left little hope of substantial relief from them: " Our great resource " he said, " perhaps our only resource, is in ourselves." This was the first formulation of the principle of Sinn Féin.

When O'Connell founded the Loyal National Repeal Association in April 1840, he found the old apathy had again fallen on the country. At his first meeting he could get only fifteen names on the membership roll. A coercion act that dated from 1793 against all assemblies of an elective character deterred many from joining. One small measure of reform introduced by the Whigs gave him some advantage. The ten largest towns in Ireland were given a wider franchise, though fifty-eight other towns were deprived of their charters altogether. In spite of the relief acts of 1793 and 1829 no Catholic had been elected as alderman or councillor to the Dublin corporation. But the 1841 election transformed that important body: forty-seven repealers and Whigs were elected, while only thirteen Tories were returned; and most significant of all, Daniel O'Connell became Lord Mayor, the first Catholic to hold that position since the fall of the Stuarts in 1688. One of the first acts of O'Connell was to have the statue of King William in College Green painted

a bright green picked out with Orange, as a symbol of mutual freedom and toleration between Protestants and Catholics.

VI

O'Connell now began to devote all his energies to the repeal agitation, and new methods of publicity were enlisted in the movement. In 1842 Charles Gavan Duffy founded the *Nation* newspaper, in the running of which he was assisted by Thomas Davis and John Blake Dillon. Its motto was the democratic ideal that had been inspiring O'Connell's movement: "to create and foster public opinion and to make it racy of the soil." The *Nation* cost sixpence and appealed only to a restricted class among the people, but it sought to arouse a spirit of nationality among the better class who could afford to buy it, and it encouraged too a love of the language. With some of its ideas O'Connell had no very pronounced sympathy: he was more pragmatic and opportunist; but his opportunism and expediency were always determined by what he honestly and truthfully conceived to be the concrete needs and welfare of his beloved people.

Another method of publicity was to organize repeal reading-rooms all over the country as centres of propaganda. James Duffy, the publisher, had begun to print little works on Irish history, literature, Irish art and music, that sold in thousands and helped to spread a knowledge of subjects that the people had completely forgotten. Monster meetings were held everywhere, sometimes mustering as many as a quarter of a million people. O'Connell insisted on sobriety and discipline and was a keen supporter of the great temperance crusade of his friend Fr. Mathew: he used to appeal at his meetings for five million teetotallers. Strict discipline was maintained at the great meetings by "O'Connell's police," as his wardens were called. But the central figure at every meeting was the great tribune himself, whose wonderful voice could play on the feelings of his audience like the trained fingers of a skilled organist. A countryman had said about his voice that it could be heard a mile away and sounded as though it came through honey.

But the magnificently disciplined demand for repeal was dashing ineffectively against the stone cliff of imperial intransigence. The Tories and the Whigs were now united against concessions to Ireland. Peel and Wellington had declared that repeal of the Union would mean the dismemberment and liquidation of the British Empire. The finest and most bombastic of Macaulay's rolling sentences were hurled against freedom for Ireland. The government set about drawing the teeth of the growing repeal movement. Magistrates known to favour repeal were dismissed; the forerunners of the Sinn Féin courts were then set up when the dismissed magistrates presided over arbitration courts to which the people brought their disputes. On June 11, 1843 O'Connell uttered

his famous " Mallow defiance " to a meeting of a quarter of a million at Mallow, when he hinted at the possibility of violent resistance to the repressive measures that the government were known to be contemplating.

Then came the greatest meeting of all on the Hill of Tara on Lady Day in August 1843. The correspondent of the London *Times* estimated that a million persons were present. From an early hour in the morning Masses were being offered at six altars erected in the open. O'Connell once again asserted the democratic right of the people to rule themselves, and he emphasized the invalid and immoral character of the Act of Union. The completeness of the democratic programme of O'Connell does not unduly surprise us now, but it was far in advance of the conceptions of that time : universal suffrage by secret ballot, security of land tenure for the tenants of Ireland, and the economic development of Ireland's own resources under native control. At a great meeting in Mullaghmast he demanded popular education, then unknown in England, freedom of speech and freedom of worship, and the right of the people to choose their own way of life.

Another great meeting was summoned for Clontarf on October 5 of the same year. The government now decided to strike. Fresh troops were poured into the country ; barracks were loop-holed ; forts on the coast were equipped ; and war vessels were placed at strategic points around the coasts. At half-past-three on the Saturday before the great Clontarf rally the government proclaimed the meeting ; the military occupied Clontarf and artillery was trained on all the approaches to the meeting-place. What would O'Connell do to meet this dramatic threat to his whole movement ? He did the only logical and possible thing open to him : the proclamation must be obeyed. Even if his policy had ever been armed resistance, there was no possible justification for resistance then. No one then questioned the surrender of O'Connell to the inevitable or counselled resistance to the English troops. The *Nation* expressed its editorial approval. The people still trusted in the wisdom of O'Connell's leadership, and the repression only won fresh recruits to the repeal movement.

But the proclamation was a sore defeat for O'Connell. He had come up against the impassable stone wall that armed totalitarianism has always built against democratic claims. Within a week O'Connell and the repeal leaders were arrested and charged with seditious conspiracy. A packed jury did what was expected from them : they brought in the usual verdict of guilty, and O'Connell was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and fined £2,000. The Irish bishops had ordered prayers to be said at every Mass for his liberation, and Masses were offered for him in Belgium, France and Germany. An appeal to the House of Lords, that cost the Repeal Association £50,000, showed the illegality of the sentence and the prisoners were released. A typical episode illustrated the deep Catholic

piety that permeated the whole life of O'Connell : the day after the decision of the legal Lords was made known, when the jail doors had been thrown open, O'Connell spent the morning in the prison chapel to finish the novena that had been offered up all over Ireland for the success of the appeal.

The world-wide celebrity enjoyed by O'Connell at this time may be estimated from a speech made by Macaulay on a motion on the state of Ireland in the British parliament in February 1844 :—

> The position which Mr. O'Connell holds in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen is a position such as no popular leader in the whole history of mankind has ever attained . . . . Go where you will on the Continent, visit any coffee-house, dine at any public table, embark upon any steamboat, enter any conveyance—from the moment your accent shows you to be an Englishman, the very first question asked by your companions, be they what they may—physicians, advocates, merchants, or manufacturers, or peasants of the class who are like our yeomen in this country—is, ' What will be done with O'Connell ? ' Let those who deny this assertion turn over the French journals, and they will see what a place he occupies in the eyes of the French people. It is a most unfortunate, it is a most unhappy fact—but it is impossible to dispute it—that there is throughout the Continent a feeling respecting the connection between England and Ireland not very much unlike the feeling that exists here about the connection between Russia and Poland.

VII

The end of 1844 saw the beginning of the decline of O'Connell's influence as a leader. The disease from which he died two and a half years later began to weaken him physically and mentally. He felt that his great movement had partly failed and sixty-nine years of age left him without vigour to renew the conflict on fresh lines. He weakened for a time on unconditional repeal and wavered towards a federal form of Home Rule, which a later generation accepted with enthusiasm ; but the stiffer attitude of the Young Ireland repealers caused him to repudiate any form of self-government that would leave Ireland dependent on Westminster. Peel was forced to make some concessions to satisfy the more pressing demands of O'Connell. A bill was introduced in 1845 to set up three Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway to provide a system of university education that would not be repugnant to Catholics. The measure did not satisfy O'Connell, who opposed it because of his distrust of the purely secular and neutral education which the Bill provided. He wanted Presbyterian education for the Presbyterians in a University in Belfast, Protestant education for the Protestants in Dublin University, and Catholic education for Catholics in Cork and Galway. The young men of the *Nation* and the Protestant repealers welcomed the Bill. Davis welcomed it because he believed that religious education should be excluded from university teaching : a Protestant or a Catholic university for him suggested sectarian bigotry. Catholic opinion was divided on the measure.

But the essentials of freedom seemed still as remote as ever, through no fault of O'Connell or the Irish. From 1845 O'Connell practically retired from politics and left the direction of the organisation more and more in the hands of his less capable son John. O'Connell's organisation was still a strong and disciplined force, as is clear from the coercion bill introduced by the government in 1846, when the spectre of famine was casting its shadow over the land through the failure of the potato crop. At a meeting in Dublin O'Connell urged the opening of the ports to foreign corn, the prohibition of the export of corn from Ireland, the stopping of brewing and distilling, the employment of the people in useful public works—especially in the construction of railways; all his suggestions were embodied in a petition to the viceroy. But the English government refused to believe in the danger of famine and merely appointed commissioners to examine the situation.

O'Connell's health was now completely broken, and he made a pathetic figure as he spoke against the coercion bill of 1846 in the House of Commons. The bill, which would give the viceroy power to put all Ireland under curfew, inflicted a penalty of fourteen years transportation on the Irishman caught out of doors between sunset and sunrise. O'Connell's speech—not a word of which could be heard in the gallery of the House—covered eighteen pages of the official report and showed little evidence of mental decrepitude. In it he advocated reforms that were to form the planks on Irish platforms for more than two generations during the Land League and United Irish League days. He had the satisfaction of seeing this coercion bill defeated and his most powerful enemy, Peel, and his government driven from office. This event may be said to have marked almost the full stop to O'Connell's career.

The famine completed the misery of the people; the absurdity of the relief given by the government crushed the spirit in the breast of the great agitator: he was powerless to lift a finger to ease the desolation of his people. In January 1847 he left for London for the last time to make a final appeal for help for the starving Irish. But his forlorn appeal did not stir a chord in the breast of the mother of parliaments. His voice was so low and broken that the Hansard reporters could not hear his words. Still he had wise and practical suggestions to offer the government; had they been adopted, they would have done much to avert the awful tragedy that followed. Instead of spending money on bogus canals and useless roads, the government should support the people on the land while they sowed corn for the coming year—the month was February and there was still time. He predicted that, unless strong measures were taken at once, Ireland would lose a quarter of her population; this prediction was more than fulfilled.

A few days later he fell more seriously ill and he was advised to go to the South of France to rest. His own wish was to return to Derrynane,

but he was eventually persuaded to make a pilgrimage to Rome in the hope that the change might improve his condition. European as he had always been, he had never had time to travel before. His last words in public were spoken in reply to an address written by the Comte de Montalembert which was presented to O'Connell in Paris by the Society for the defence of Religious Freedom : " We are come to salute you the Liberator of Ireland . . . . But you are not only the man of one Nation, you are the man of all Christendom. Your glory is not only Irish. It is Catholic."

All along his route O'Connell was greeted enthusiastically as the Great Liberator of Ireland. But he was destined never to reach Rome. At Genoa his illness reached a crisis. His last days were entirely spent in devout preparation for death, assisted by his chaplain, Fr. Miley. On Saturday, the 15th of May, the Vicar-general of Genoa took the Holy Viaticum to his room, and O'Connell spent his last hours reciting the prayers for the dying and repeating in the Irish of Kerry the acts of Contrition, Faith, Hope and Charity, which he had learned as a boy and had said faithfully all through his life. He died at thirty-seven minutes past nine on the evening of the 15th. The whole city of Genoa had followed his last hours with interest and sympathy, and on the following morning Mass was celebrated for the repose of his soul in twenty-five churches of that city. It was their tribute to Europe's greatest democratic leader. His last will and testament was : " Send my heart to Rome and my body to Ireland." And when his heart reached Rome Pius IX, in an audience, spoke of the Liberator as " the great champion of religion and the Church, the Father of his country and the glory of the whole Christian world."

Felim Ó Briain, O.F.M.

THE JESUITS IN WATERFORD

BY PROFESSOR EMERITUS P. CANON POWER, D.LITT.

WATERFORD looms large in the early history of the Irish Jesuits. Once on a time no fewer than three of the city's seven parishes were under Jesuit administration; that is, their pastors were Jesuits and, as far as one at least of the parishes was concerned, Jesuit pastorship continued for two centuries. Moreover the chief—perhaps the only—school of the city was for a period under Jesuit direction and tuition. In 1609 (the year is chosen at random) there was a total of seventy-two Irishmen in the Order—scattered throughout Ireland, France, Spain, Belgium, etc. Of these seventeen were Waterford-born—twenty-two indeed, if five from Lismore be added.[1] Compare this record with Dublin's fourteen, Meath's nine and Cashel's four. At the same time the city by the Suir was, as for centuries it had been, an exclusively English colony set down on Irish soil. In every sense except the purely geographical it was practically a piece of England at its wrong side of the Irish Sea—*Urbs intacta mansit*. Yet, to a man, its citizens had clung tenaciously to the Faith when their mother country by adoption had cut herself adrift from Rome. The most Catholic of cities, a Papal Nuncio had styled Waterford—*Parva Roma*. That was a century subsequent to the Reformation. On the other hand (and it is just as complimentary) Lords Deputy and ranting preachers called it a paragon of contumacy: "Stiff-necked, stubborn, papistical and incorrigible."[2] Waterford's merchants and magistrates—Walshs, Waddings, Lombards and Sherlocks—were reduced to beggary and forced across the sea to the friendly ports of Spain. Father Michael Wadding, S.J. (Miguel Godinez) in his *Theologia Mistica* tells us that, as a youth in his native Waterford, he had himself seen groups of his fellow-citizens herded at the bayonet's point into heretical places of worship. For over two centuries the government of Waterford was a kind of oligarchy in which some dozen leading families participated. These were all interrelated by blood and affinity, and were all stoutly Catholic and loyalist as well. They had almost all given many members to the Religious Orders. Thus, of the Comerfords, there were sixteen Jesuits within half a century; and the record of the Wadding and White families was almost as high or higher.[3] The leading Catholic families were Comerford, Dobbyn, Lincoln, Madan, Sherlock, Strong, Wadding, Walsh, White and Wise.

I

Father David Wolfe and his pioneer band of Jesuits arrived in Ireland during the winter of 1560–61; there is, however, no evidence (known to

[1] Hogan: *Ibernia Ignatiana*, pp. 228-9.
[2] Middleton (Protestant Bishop of Waterford, 1579–82) to Walshingham.
[3] Hogan: *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 72.

the writer) that they visited Waterford. It is for all that most likely that there was such a visit (or visits)—and of some duration. Likelihood is strengthened by the fact that James Walsh (1581) and Maurice Wise (1589), both of Waterford city, entered the Jesuit novitiate shortly afterwards. These were followed by Paul Sherlock and by Michael, Ambrose, Peter and Luke Wadding. One senses the contemporary Jesuit atmosphere of the ancient city. In 1604 (again the year is chosen at random), of the twenty-two Irish postulants received that year, seven, or about one-third of the total, were of Waterford origin. Father Maurice Wise, S.J., had returned to Waterford by 1609, for in that year Pope Paul V nominated him to the pastorate of St. Peter's Parish in the city.

There were, of course, recurrent lulls in the penal storm, and intensity of persecution varied with each locality and the zeal of the local executive. Up to this time, and even subsequently, the Corporation of Waterford—notwithstanding threats and bribes—remained stoutly recusant and, as far as it was able, acted as a brake on the new religious policy. From the Government point of view the corporate body had become hopelessly intractable—even obstructionist—so that, finally, Mayor and Councillors were sent prisoners to Cork. Under Mayor William Dobbyn (1629) they had permitted, even encouraged, the Jesuits to open and conduct a Grammar School for the education of Catholic youth. Possibly—yea most probably—the school, which became a thorn in the side of "Reform," was but a continuation, on the original site, of Dean Peter White's famous Academy so lovingly and elegantly apostrophised by Stanihurst.

II

We may pause here to inquire where stood the Jesuit school, where the church and where the residence of the little community. We may assume that the very first Fathers established themselves wherever they could find safe and suitable accommodation—among friends and relatives. Naturally the scattered units would assume community life at the first reasonable opportunity. Taking the three questions in order, let us first fix, if we can, the school site: it may answer one, at least, of the other two queries. From the tenor of a memorandum in the Jesuit archives relating to some seventeenth-century controversy, it appears that the school lay *juxta palatium episcopi*. Like many another answer this carries with it, in its tail, a further query: where was the *palatium*. From analogy or precedent we may conclude that the latter occupied the site of the present episcopal (Protestant) residence on the south side of the Cathedral—i.e. between the latter and the City Wall. The document moreover suggests that the community lived in the *domus praeceptoralis*. This was all in the early years of Doctor Comerford's episcopate (1628–52). Our document does perhaps tenuously suggest that the Society proposed rebuilding St. Peter's Church, and it definitely states that they had secured a house or two in

the precincts of the church ruin. The *domus praeceptoralis*, it will be noted, did not belong to the Jesuits; only the use of it had been ceded by the Municipality, which likewise voted them an annual stipend of £10.

From various records it appears that, for at least a century from 1560 onwards, a public school had been maintained in Waterford by the Municipality.[1] We can in outline trace the Academy's fortunes under Dean Peter White (1560–1570), John Flahy (1602–1617), and two Jesuit Fathers (1629–1649). From the conditions under which the institution was worked there cannot be much doubt that the school of 1649 was a moral continuation of the "Happy Schoolmaster's" school of the preceding century; indeed the original material *domus praeceptoralis* may well have survived on the site or in the immediate vicinity of the present deanery—*i.e.* at the east end of the modern (Christchurch) Cathedral.

It is possible that this Jesuit school continued to function or was revived during the Restoration. At any rate Bishop John Brenan (1671–1693), writing to Propaganda in September 1672, refers to a school kept in the city by a priest, and attended by fifteen pupils. Decline in school attendance indicates the degree to which the Cromwellian Settlement had affected the Catholic city. The Bishop further refers to the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinian Canons Regular and Cistercians (Bernardines) within the diocese. They all, he says, subsist on alms; but the Jesuits alone support themselves otherwise. This may imply that the Jesuits got assistance from relatives or friends; more probably it refers to their income from the parish and school.

III

And the residence? It seems impossible now to identify with certainty the site. In the mid-seventeenth century the building was apparently either an annexe to the school or had the school as a structural part. Attached to the present St. Patrick's Church (Waterford) and opening into Jenkins's (formerly Norrington's) Lane is the ancient building which housed the community in the second half of the eighteenth century—up to the suppression of the Society in 1773. There is nothing to indicate the date of erection; most probably the venerable house is coeval with the adjoining church. It is still in good repair and is now used as a nursing home. This house was probably the first formal residence after the earlier *domus praeceptoralis*. We shall have occasion to return to it later.

Of Father Wise (*alias* Barbarossa) we are informed that, though he was an excellent catechist, director of souls and peacemaker, he deemed himself unequal to the task of preaching.[2] He had no Irish, but he set himself to make good the deficiency—with what result we are not told. St. Peter's Church was falling, or had already fallen, into ruin in Father Wise's

[1] *Cal. S.P. Ireland* (1625–32), p. 500; *Arch. Hib.*, vols. 2 and 3 (Salamanca lists).
[2] *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p. 220, where two letters of his are printed.

time and it is unlikely that the Jesuit pastor was ever able to use it. He must have assembled his people for Mass and the Sacraments in some makeshift meeting-place—empty store or private dwelling. That there were such places of worship at a slightly later date is evident from a letter of Bishop John Brenan in which the venerable writer states that the down-trodden Catholics of Waterford were, by municipal ordinance, obliged to go to Mass at sunrise or before, lest pious Protestant eyes be scandalised at the sight of Papists going to or returning from their Sunday worship.[1]

Father Wise remained in office as Parish Priest of St. Peter's till his death in 1628. In 1616 he was joined by two other Waterford-born members of the Society: Father John Lombard and Father Stephen Murty. Connection of the Jesuits with the Grammar School evidently dates from about this period. In another two years come Fathers Rafter and Cleere; and in yet a further two years come Fathers Pierce Strong and Thomas Comerford. By this time the Society must have been firmly rooted in old Waterford—as firmly as the times permitted. The parish of St. Peter's had (what must have been rare in those days) a formally established Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, affiliated to the parent Sodality in Rome. Waterford had at this date no Bishop. The last Bishop, who died in 1578, had been schismatically consecrated in 1551, but had been reconciled to the Church before his death by the Jesuit Bishop Tanner of Cork. The diocese, which remained without a Bishop for half a century or more, was governed meanwhile by Vicars Apostolic. Two, if not all three, of them seem to have been kinsmen of Father Wise. It must have been with the Vicar's approbation, if not at his invitation, that the Jesuits made their first formal settlement in the city. Father Wise's mission was a decidedly dangerous one. The Council of Munster had just issued (August 14, 1604) a new proclamation against Jesuits—offering £40 a head for their capture. Yet that very year Vicar James White wrote to the General requesting him to send, if possible, more Fathers of the Society to Waterford. The position in the old Catholic city must have been rendered doubly dangerous by the daring venture of the Grammar School.

Father John Lombard, a nephew or near relative of the Primate, was the next Jesuit Superior and Parish Priest. He died in May 1642; having defied edicts and proclamations, he lived to see the Confederate standard unfurled at Kilkenny—but not long enough to greet the victor of Benburb.

Bishop Comerford of Waterford, in 1648, presented a memorial to the Papal Nuncio praying for a revocation of the famous censures. Among the diocesan signatories were Father Edward Cleere, local Jesuit Superior, and Fathers John Gough (Clonmel), William McGrath (Cashel) and Andrew FitzBennet Sall (Clonmel), all members of the Society. Father Cleere was Superior from 1643 to 1649, except for a short interval in 1647–48 when Father Francis Tyrry held office. Our Father Sall of

[1] Power: *A Bishop of the Penal Days*, p. 36.

Clonmel is, by the way, to be carefully distinguished from his namesake, Andrew FitzJohn Sall of less than happy memory.

Under the Commonwealth regime the Waterford Community was forced to disperse and go into hiding. Father Sall alone remained behind, and he seems to have acted as vice-pastor till his capture in 1658. Father Cleere had died in June 1649—thus, by a narrow margin of time, escaping the curse of Cromwell. Succession in the Cromwellian period is, as might naturally be expected, obscure and uncertain.

IV

Father John Cleere, probably nephew of Father Edward Cleere who died in 1649, had a long term of office—from 1660 to 1683.[1] During the first two years of this period he appears to have worked alone. In 1662 he was joined by Father FitzBennet Sall, who had returned from prison or exile; but after a year or so Father Sall left again—to become Irish Provincial (1663–66). Father Richard Cary appears as Superior of the Waterford residence from 1683 to 1696. Most likely he was pastor also, with the following assistants or *socii* for varied periods :—Father Anthony Knoles and Fathers Francis and Martin White. His immediate successor was Father Francis White, for one year only; then came Father A. Knoles for thirty years, during most of which long period he served as Irish Provincial, resident in Waterford. During the greater part, if not the whole, of the Provincial's long term of office (all within the still longer episcopate and exile of Bishop Richard Pierce) Father John Higgins acted as Parish Priest. In 1717 he styles himself *parochus* of St. Olave's, St. Peter's and St. Patrick's, though in the 1704 Clergy Registration he appears as pastor of St. Olave's only. This might at first sight seem to settle the question whether the local Superior was not also *ipso facto* the Pastor. But, on the other hand, the position of Father Knoles—Provincial and local Superior—might well have made his an exceptional case. Throughout the present paper the local Superior is—unless, as in the case of Father Knoles, there be evidence to the contrary—assumed to be also the Parish Priest.

In what year and under what circumstances the Jesuits first obtained possession of St. Patrick's parish is not clear. The date must have been between 1704 and 1717, because in the latter year Father Higgins categorically subscribes himself *Parochus Sti Olai, Petri et Patricii.* The Jesuits retained St. Patrick's and St. Olave's to the end, but St. Peter's apparently only to the death of Father Higgins. It is not easy to understand how St. Peter's, extending between St. Olave's and St. Patrick's, can have dropped out of the parochial union.

[1] The writer is indebted to Father John MacErlean, S.J., for the data which enable him to bridge the obscure period 1660–1700, as well as for many corrections and suggestions; in fact, without his assistance the present paper could not have been written.

Under the Popish Clergy Registration Act of 1704 Father John Higgins of the Society registered as Parish Priest ("Pretended Parish Priest" in the elegant language of the Act) of St. Olave's, while Fathers Edmund Everard, Antony Martin and John Tobin described themselves as Parish Priests respectively of St. Patrick's, St. Stephen's and St. Peter's. Ten years later we find two of the three parishes last named in charge of Jesuit pastors, whence one might perhaps conclude that the three priests of 1704 were also Jesuits, actually in disguise. But the conclusion would be wrong; if they were regulars at all (and there is nothing to show that they were), they definitely were not Jesuits. Concerning these Clergy Registration Lists generally it is more or less obvious that they were occasionally doctored to secure toleration for some regulars and seculars who up to that time (if even then) had not been formal *parochi*. The subterfuge hurt nobody and saved, perhaps, many a poor priest from imprisonment, exile or death.

With Father Higgins and his era (1694–1733) we can feel on almost familiar and even friendly terms, because the good pastor has left us a well-kept and highly informative parochial register covering twenty-five of his thirty-nine years as pastor. To Father Higgins and his register we shall return later—and at some length. For the present it will suffice to say that the venerable volume is now preserved, and has been as long as can be remembered, in St. John's Church, Waterford—and not in St. Patrick's, where we should naturally expect to find it. Father Higgins seems to have worked alone in the early years of his pastorate; at any rate the register names no *socius* or assistant. Later, he had a Father William Ballard to assist him and, later still, a Father Michael Fitzgerald. Father Fitzgerald hailed from Dungarvan; he had a brother, Patrick, who was *parochus*, first of Ardmore and later of Holy Trinity, Waterford. Father Ballard's name creates a difficulty. Apparently its owner was not a Jesuit; the name (which may have been an *alias*) does not appear in the Society's lists. Assumed names were, for obvious reasons, frequently used by the clergy of those evil times. An erudite student of the subject suggests that Father Ballard may have been an English secular priest sheltering in Waterford during a particular outburst of priest-hunting in his own country. Against this theory is the lengthened duration of Father Ballard's stay in Waterford—ten or fifteen years. Whatever be the explanation of Father Ballard's sojourn here, it is by no means unlikely that he was a native of the city. From our Register it is clear that there were local families of the name, resident even within the Jesuit parishes. In 1718 we find Father Higgins joint signatory, with Vicar General Paul Bellew, to a memorial in favour of the last Power of Castletown (Co. Waterford) who had settled in Spain and by reason of his descent and unblemished reputation claims recognition as a Spanish Grandee.

No remains of St. Peter's or St. Patrick's churches survive. The site of

the former is now occupied by the Dispensary in Peter Street, and the modern Protestant St. Patrick's church stands on the site of the other. Of St. Olave's considerable remains survive, which have been incorporated in the Protestant St. Olave's.[1]

V

By aid of the surviving parochial register of St. Patrick's parish it is possible to compile a tolerably complete list of Father Higgins's successors down to the Suppression of the Society (1773) and after. The extant registers of St. Patrick's begin in 1730 or thereabout, and Father Higgins's register ends at the same time. The fact is significant; the one is a continuation of the other. St. Patrick's was apparently joined to the already united St. Olave's and St. Peter's some time during Father Higgins' pastorate. St. Patrick's was the largest and most populous of the three parishes, and St. Olave's was larger in area and population than St. Peter's.

Father Higgins was succeeded as Parish Priest by Father Francis O'Neill, whose tenure of office was brief—only a year or less. He died at Dublin in 1739 after a painful illness. Father Ignatius Roche (*alias* Ignatius Kelly), a native of Dungarvan, as was also his *socius* Father Fitzgerald, comes next. He survived till 1743 and was succeeded by Father Simon Shee, who held office for a quarter of a century and died in the pulpit of Holy Trinity Church, as he was preaching on a Sunday evening, in 1769. Father St. Leger, who succeeded, held office for sixteen years; he was a native of the city, where his people kept the "Blue Bell" hostelry in High Street. Upon the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 Father St. Leger, with his associates Fathers Paul Power, Michael Fitzgerald and John Barron, became secular priests and remained still attached to St. Patrick's church and parish.

The Bull suppressing the Society of Jesus was read in St. Patrick's church, in the presence of Father St. Leger, his associates and a large congregation, by Bishop William Egan on a Sunday in 1774. Whether the Fathers continued to teach school does not appear; but from absence of all reference to it we may assume that the school had long since ceased to function. Father Michael Fitzgerald succeeded Fr. St. Leger in 1783. He was a very old man at the time, for he was born in 1694 and had been Irish Provincial in 1750–59. Father Paul Power, also a Waterford man, became Parish Priest on Father Fitzgerald's demise, or retirement, in 1791. He had made his ecclesiastical studies at Salamanca, which college he left to become a Jesuit. He was brother to Richard Power of Rockshire, a wealthy Spanish merchant of Waterford, and was succeeded in St.

[1] St. Olave's may well be the oldest of Waterford's churches. Its titular was St. Olave, King of Norway, who died for the Faith at the hands of his own heathen subjects in 1030—half a century before the formal acceptance of Christianity by the Norsemen of Waterford. The name also takes the forms: Amlave, Awley, Olaf, Doulough and even Torley. St. Olave's Shrine at Trontheim in Norway became a celebrated centre of northern pilgrimage.

Patrick's by his confrère Father John Barron, D.D. Father Barron was also a "suppressed" Jesuit—the last of the Waterford community. Like his three immediate predecessors he was a native of Waterford. He had studied in the Roman University, where he had taken the Doctor's degree in Philosophy and Theology. By his last will be bequeathed the Community library in trust to the Bishop of Waterford, Dr. Thomas Hussey. It will interest many to hear that this collection is still more or less intact, and has been incorporated in the Library of St. John's College, Waterford. As may be expected, the books are mainly theological, biblical, and patristic with some admixture of Canon Law. On the title-page of one particular volume (Gregorius De Valentia Vol. 1, at base of title) the writer remembers reading the autograph signature of Father John Lombard with the date 1616. We might fairly expect to find in this ancient collection a copy of Father Paul Sherlock's commentary on the Canticles in three folio volumes; but this distinguished Waterford man's work is not there. Neither is there now a copy of Father Michael Wadding's *Mystic Theology*.

At what date the Jesuits opened their first formal and public chapel in Waterford is not clear. If the present St. Patrick's church be not the chapel in question, it almost certainly occupies the same site. The present little church dates from the first half of the eighteenth century; it is possibly the oldest Catholic church in Ireland and is structurally unchanged. It stands in an obscure laneway where it might easily escape the casual visitor's notice. Formerly, the locality was still more obscure. The present entrance-approaches are comparatively modern. The ancient approach was through a four-foot-wide alley which, starting from what is now George's Street at a few yards to the west of the present St. Patrick's gateway, ran through to Jenkin's Lane. At the present position of the National School there were a few yards of branch-lane, which took the worshipper of olden time to the church door. Fortunately this unnamed laneway, which deserves preservation as a municipal monument, still remains—though now closed by a small iron gateway at its north end and by a mason-work party-wall farther on. No written page could more eloquently convey the Penal atmosphere of the past than does this forgotten alleyway. Attached to St. Patrick's Church at its south (or east end) is the former Jesuit residence, now used as a private nursing home. The venerable building, notwithstanding its antiquity of some two centuries, is still in good repair. For nearly a hundred years it has ceased to be used as a clergy-house. Attached to the church, at its opposite end, and under under the same roof, is an ancient Catholic almshouse—the Carew-Langton Charity, founded in 1754 and long under Jesuit supervision. Within the memory of persons still living—the present writer among them—St. Patrick's church was entered *through* the almshouse—a subterfuge of the Penal Days to mask the real character of the sacred edifice.

VI

We may return now to Father Higgins and make a more detailed study of his parochial register. Reading between the faded lines of the latter, we shall find ourselves unconsciously reconstructing a Waterford and part of an Ireland long since forgotten. Our ancient register is preserved among the muniments of St. John's Church, and it is labelled (somewhat inaccurately) " Matrimonial Register." Actually it is, in greater part, a baptismal record. The paper is thick, strong and coarse, and there are about six entries to the page—almost all in the good legible hand of Father Higgins. Including recipients of sacraments, sponsors and witnesses etc., the volume contains some 6,000 names—nearly all citizens of a Waterford that is gone. Nowhere else perhaps can such a list of old Waterford citizens be found. The volume measures 7¼ ins. by 7 ins.; it is 1 in. in thickness and has recently been rebound in half-calf.

That Father Higgins was a good Latinist appears, among other things, from the readiness with which he finds Latin words for technical terms, names of now obsolete trades, etc. Even so, he is occasionally nonplussed; as when he finds himself up against such avocations as " card-maker," " brogue-maker," " surveyor of taxes " (January 1726), " sawyer," " tobacconist " etc. Incidentally the register yields data useful to the ecclesiastical, the economic and even the general historian. The era which it illustrates—the dark period succeeding the Boyne and Limerick—is in special need of documentary illumination. First, our register shows (if we had not already sufficient evidence of the fact) that the people were very poor. The priest notes after each entry the fee or offering received. In the majority of cases nothing was contributed; in others the fee paid ranges from one to five shillings; in perhaps half a dozen entries out of hundreds the offering reaches £1 or a little over. Considering the comparative value of money two hundred years ago, the poor people were very generous. The offering seems to have been, in many cases, the proceeds of a collection among the bystanding friends. Small as the receipts were, by law they had to be shared with the Protestant rector. Besides the sponsors at baptism and the two witnesses at marriages, there were present other friends or relatives whose names were also entered in the register. Mostly, if not always, the sacraments were administered in private houses; infants were baptised on the day of birth or the day following. In many instances the entry is incomplete—some of the names or a date being omitted, because the priest failed to remember them when he came to write in the baptism or marriage. Few of the families named now survive in the city. The short duration of family life in Waterford (as perhaps in all Irish cities) is remarkable. While families in the surrounding country parts survive in the same locality for centuries, city families disappear in a couple of generations. In our register there is only a single reference to a Wadding and no mention whatever of a

Lombard, a Lincoln, a Sherlock or a Comerford. Yet less than a century previously Waddings, Lombards, Lincolns, Sherlocks and Comerfords were the leading city families.

Marriages, at the date of our record, were sometimes celebrated under circumstances which to-day would render them not only unlawful but invalid. The decrees of Trent regarding clandestine marriages had not yet been published in Waterford. One Father William Fitzharris (*alias* Andrew Elliott) of Passage East appears to have been notorious for his unlawful activities; his name occurs five times in our Register, in and around 1722, as clandestine celebrant. The irregularly contracted unions were afterwards duly legalised, and thus they came to be recorded in the Register; they were generally of the run-away or abduction type, frequent enough at that period. Not only marriages *de praesente* were entered, but *sponsalia* or promises of marraige *de futuro*. In these latter the bridegroom was often a foreigner or a seaman. In such cases a definite date is fixed for fulfilment of the promise. Also in a few instances there is record of marriages without priest or witnesses—"hand-fasting" as it was called. There is one instance at least, of a marriage by proxy. This is dated October 17, 1765; the contracting parties were William Malone (represented by Dominick Farrell) and Mary Veale. Among the witnesses to the contract was Rev. David Connery, P.P. of Trinity Without. The clandestine unions generally took place in remote country parts where perhaps a priest could not easily be found; their record revives for us the gloomy atmosphere of the Penal times.

Traditional popular memory of old parish names and boundaries, now quite obliterated and forgotten, lived on as the common possession of clergy and laity. Ballyglan (Bar. of Gaultier), for example, is correctly assigned to its proper parish, Killsaintnicholas—the body of which lies at a couple of miles distance. In like manner Gracedieu (Bar. of Middlethird) is correctly placed under Killotteran parish, now completely forgotten. Parishes are specifically named which are not remembered now: Clonegam, Islandkeane, Ballinakill, Kilcaragh, Dunkitt, etc.

Incidentally we gather from our ancient record many facts of local civil history and contemporary economics—the occupations, for instance, of many hundred persons. Father Higgins was in the habit of specifying each man's trade or calling, the more easily to identify him—carpenter, bootmaker, etc. All the employed are men; women apparently had no occupation other than housewifery and nursing, or household work in the service of others. Scores of trades are named, including many long since extinct in Waterford. Sailoring easily outnumbers all other occupations—eloquent testimony to the great cross-channel and oceanic commerce of old Waterford. Next in number to sailors come—surprisingly—coopers (*doliarii*), an evidence of Waterford's salt provision trade (butter and bacon). There are only two or three (presumably

salmon or sole) fishermen and somewhat the same number of boatmen (presumably ferrymen). Weavers are in considerable number, as are smiths, carpenters, tailors and builders. Pewterers, glovemakers, melsters and hatmakers are few, and there is no mention of a thatcher, a painter or a dentist. From the absence of bakers (only two are named) it may be deduced that home-baking was the rule.[1] Butchers (only three) were almost as rare as bakers. There are also a couple each of barbers and school-masters. As against two hundred sailors we have only a single bookseller, one bookbinder and one or two advocates. There are some references to a *tremulus*, probably a Quaker, and at least one reference to an *Epiphianus* (? saddler).

The family names throw some light on local ethnology. A low proportion of native Irish to Anglo-Irish names tells of ostracism or active exclusion of the mere Irish and of a low ratio of pure Irish to foreign blood. Christian names yield similar evidence—John, Thomas, Nicholas, Michael, Mary, Margaret and Honora. Our era of pagan and nonsense names lay two centuries ahead. The same Christian names descend, generation after generation, in the family—Maurice and Garret among the Fitzgeralds ; Pierce and James in the Butlers ; Walter, Roger, Geoffrey and Robert in the Powers ; Tobit in the Burkes ; Nicholas and Peter in the Walshes. The strange biblical name Aholyab occurs once—no doubt, from a Puritan father or grandfather—and Philleda also once. Among the patronymics there is already more than a sprinkling of Cromwellian names—indication that the Catholic element had already commenced to absorb and assimilate the heretic. A Jesuit atmosphere is suggested by an occasional Ignatius, Xavier (and Xaviera) etc.

Taking legitimacy of birth as a test of public morality, Waterford of the Jesuits and of the late Penal Days does not compare unfavourably with the city of to-day—notwithstanding our present-day facilities for Catholic education. The actual proportion of illegitimates may at first sight seem much higher in the ancient register, when the fact is overlooked that to-day these unfortunate children are born mostly in public institutions and that their baptisms are not entered in the general parochial register, but in the special register of the hospital or charitable institution. In our old Jesuit register the officiating clergyman boldly states the name of the putative father, a thing which for obvious reasons no priest would do to-day. As a rule the putative father's name is given without qualification—presumably on the mother's declaration ; sometimes the imputation is modified by the clause *ut dicitur*. In the majority of cases the reputed father is a Protestant and a man of means or position ; the poor mother had evidently been to some extent in his power.

[1] In 1729 Ellen Murphy, Newton, of the city of Waterford, by her will copied by the writer and now probably non-existent, bequeathes her " iron gridle and querne " (Irish Wills, Record Office).

It has been stated already that our Register is in reality only the first volume of a series. For our immediate purpose it is unnecessary to analyse similarly the succeeding volumes, some of which throw a curious sidelight on a phase of local history that might otherwise remain unnoticed : the very intimate relations which existed in those days between Waterford and Newfoundland. This is, in brief, the story of the connection. Waterford's noted butter and bacon trade had its origin, a couple of centuries since, in the bacon-curing and pig-raising industry of East Waterford and South Kilkenny. The local farmers killed and cured their own bacon, for which as well as for their salt butter they found a ready sale in the city. A local family named Kent, with connections in Newfoundland,[1] commenced to buy and export to the Fisheries, with the result that a great trade and a fixed market were established. Hundreds of young men and some young women, attracted by the high wages in the " land of fish," emigrated to Newfoundland. Most of these went out only for " the Newfoundland Season " (of two summers and the intermediate winter). But many settled down for life. A religious difficulty soon arose. A local variant of the Penal Laws was introduced or invented ; churches might be built and individuals might worship as they wished, but the enlightened colonial policy would permit no priest to land in the colony. The result in practice was that the Irish colonist had to send his child to Ireland for Baptism.[2] Marriage might be contracted validly though clandestinely, but the parties therein had to return to Ireland for nuptial blessing and formal renewal of consent. During the month of October 1752, for example, four baptisms of Newfoundland-born children were registered. Here is a typical entry : " T. S. (Joannes St. Leger) bapt(izavit) Margaritam fil. leg. Mosis Jackson et Mariae Dalton de Terra Nova. Patrin(is) Joanne McGrath et Elizabetha Haugherin." In December 1765 four children of Henry Jean and Mary Sullivan of Newfoundland were baptised in Waterford. Yet another entry of Newfoundland association (in English this time) may be quoted : " Robin Holly and Jane Broders, marryed about three years ago in Newfoundland according to the custom of the place, renewed and ratified their consent here the Day in presence of Wm. Broders and Catherine Broders, Waterford, Nov. 29, 1762. John St. Leger."

P. Power

[1] Hon. James M. Kent was for many years Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland.

[2] For an account of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland and its debt to Ireland see two articles by Rev. Dr. P. W. Browne—" Irish Bishops in Newfoundland " and " Catholic Education in Newfoundland "—in Studies, March and September 1931. Dr. Browne writes : " The Catholic Church in Newfoundland . . . was nurtured by Irishmen and firmly established by Irish bishops . . . from the census of 1763 we find that, out of a total population of 13,112, there were 4,795 Irish Catholics in the colony, despite the fact that English officialdom seemed to regard it as a duty to enforce, *without warrant*, iniquitous penal laws."

THE END OF MEDIEVAL DRAMA IN ENGLAND

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MORE than forty years have gone by since Sir Edmund Chambers published the first edition of his two volumes on *The Medieval Stage* (1903). The texts of the various extant plays—mystery plays, miracle plays and morality plays, as well as the earlier specimens of simple liturgical drama—had all, or almost all, been printed and critically edited before that date. The great merit of Chambers was that he called the attention of scholars to so many fascinating problems connected with the history and development of the medieval stage, in England and elsewhere. Since then a good deal of useful work has been done by other scholars. A challenging statement of new theories, based on a mass of new or neglected evidence, was printed by Dr. Owst in a long chapter entitled " Sermon and Drama " in his *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933). Father Gardiner now approaches the same subject from a new angle : he is not concerned so much with origins as with the causes that explain the sudden failure and disappearance of the medieval drama during the sixteenth century.[1] The title he has given to his book may seem to some readers unduly intriguing : *Mysteries' End*. There is no mystery at all in the solution he offers. Stated in its simplest terms, his thesis is that the mystery plays perished in the sixteenth century as a consequence of the new and tragic breach in the unity of European Christendom. Governments such as the Tudor government of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth in England had a very definite policy in their attitude towards the old-fashioned, popular religious drama ; and that attitude was for the most part openly hostile. In addition to the pressure of hostile governments, there was the new trouble caused by the use (or abuse) of the old miracle plays for purposes of openly Protestant propaganda. From being the naive dramatic expression of a common faith and a common worship, the religious drama became suddenly a vehicle of the most intensely bitter controversy of the age. Inevitably, religious authority in countries where the old faith still held its own took alarm at the danger of an abuse of old-established customs for new and very different purposes. Countries such as France and Italy, where the old plays had been immensely popular, were exposed to the infiltration of Protestant propaganda in this new form ; and legislation was soon sharpened to such a degree that the old forms of religious drama died away within one or two generations. Spain was the one great European country where the new heresy was almost unknown ; and it is precisely in Spain that the old medieval mysteries and moralities survived, to become

[1] *Mysteries' End : An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Drama.* By Harold C. Gardiner, S.J. (New Haven : Yale University Press ; London : Cumberlege. 1946. 20s.).

the immediate ancestor of Spanish drama as fashioned by Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina and Calderon.

Here indeed is new light on problems that are all the more fascinating because they bring us so close to the England which Shakespeare knew in his boyhood at Stratford-on-Avon. Father Gardiner has deliberately planned his work as an essay in historical research, not in literary criticism; but he knows well that the evidence which he has amassed in the foot-notes to this slim volume of 140 pages will force our literary critics and historians to revise some of their familiar pre-suppositions. The older medieval drama did not perish from lack of popular interest or from any failure in devotion to such essentially Catholic mysteries as the Passion of Christ, the Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist and the Mystical Body of Christ. The annual or occasional cycles of mystery plays such as the Corpus Christi cycle at York or Chester or Coventry were not abandoned because growing indifference brought about a new sense of the economic burden involved. One social historian has written: "The men themselves found the upkeep of the plays an intolerable and vexatious burden . . . The pageant plays were no spontaneous expression of the sheer joy of life".[1] Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, who did not lack sympathy for the old traditions of English country life, tells the same tale: "It becomes less and less clear that the freewill of the craftsmen had much to say to the maintenance of these public gaieties, or that they felt any enthusiasm for amusements which yearly grew more and more expensive and burdensome. . . . . It was not before the fanaticism of religion, but before the coming in of new forms of poverty and of bondage that the old games and pageants lost their lustre and faded out of existence, save where a mockery of life was preserved in them by compulsion of the town authorities".[2]

Father Gardiner challenges the whole of this interpretation of medieval life in pre-Tudor and early Tudor England; and his challenge draws its strength from the care with which he has examined a great mass of local evidence, much of it scattered through the various publications of English local antiquarian societies, some of it still unpublished and lying hid in the Additional MSS. of the British Museum or the public archives of the Record Office or (in one particularly interesting case) a court-book of the Diocesan Court of High Commission, which sat at York in May 1576. This last named document has a double interest. It illustrates very precisely the working of Elizabeth's governmental machine at a time when her Ecclesiastical Commissioners were exerting strong pressure on local authorities to drop the annual Corpus Christi cycles. But it also throws new and unexpected light on one of the most famous series of medieval English mystery plays, the so-called "Towneley plays". That

[1] M. Sellers: *York Memorandum Book* (London, 1912-15) II, p. xlii.
[2] *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century* (1894) I, p. 151.

name is given to a group of mysteries which are preserved in a single MS. of the late fifteenth century, formerly the property of the Towneley family at Towneley Hall, Lancashire. The evidence of the dialect in which these plays are written, combined with some very definite topical allusions in the text of the plays, has convinced most scholars that they were written for production in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, in Lancashire, probably by the crafts of that city. But scholars of such eminence as Sir Edmund Chambers or W. W. Greg, a specialist in these textual problems, have questioned this conclusion on the ground (to cite the words of Chambers) that there is " no hint of any plays in the local histories of Wakefield ". Father Gardiner, following up a clue given him by a local York antiquarian, has unearthed an entry in this court-book of 1576 which begins as follows : " This day, upon intelligence given to the said Commission that it is meant and purposed that in the town of Wakefield shall be played this year in Whitsunweek next or thereabouts a play commonly called Corpus Christi play which hath been heretofore used there ".[1] The Towneley MS. is thus perhaps an official text of the Wakefield plays, comparable to other similar texts that have come down to us from York and Chester.

Pushing his inquiries across the Atlantic (for the Towneley MS. is now in the Henry E. Huntingdon Library in California), Father Gardiner conjectures, though with some hesitation, that certain corrections added to the margin of the MS. in red ink, which mark Catholic doctrine concerning the Mass and the Eucharist for omission or drastic alteration, were added to the text of our MS. in consequence of instructions given by this very Court of High Commission. The York entry continues as follows : " . . . wherein they (the Commissioners) are done to understand that there may be many things used which tend to the derogation of the Majesty and glory of God, the profanation of the sacraments and the maintenance of superstition and idolatry." These marginal corrections are, however, more probably, of an earlier date, for the Commissioners of 1576 sent a letter " to the bailiff, burgesses and other the inhabitants of the said town of Wakefield " forbidding the production of any play or pageant " wherein the Majesty of God the Father, God the Son or God the Holy Ghost, or the administration of either the sacraments of baptism or of the Lord's supper be counterfeited or represented, or anything played which tend to the maintenance of superstition and idolatry or which be contrary to the laws of God or of the realm." There is question here, not of minor verbal corrections, but of final suppression.

That Elizabeth's government was hostile to such public displays of the old Catholic faith, even in the earliest years of her reign, need cause no surprise ; it has indeed long been obvious to scholars. What is new is the contention that the older religious drama was still a vital force in English country life to a date that brings us beyond Shakespeare's boyhood

[1] The full text is in Gardiner, p. 78 ; I have modernised the spelling.

and to the beginnings of the new Renaissance drama in the London theatres. Students of England's religious history are becoming more and more conscious of the widening chasm that separated Tudor London, with the heady intoxicating wine of its new social and intellectual life, from the more conservative traditions of the countryside. Where the religious drama is concerned, the difficulty is rather to determine how far country towns such as York or Chester or Wakefield, Coventry or Norwich or Lincoln (to cite some obvious examples) were affected by the new ideas that were being poured in on London from the Continent. Were these country towns on the whole in process of decay during the fifteenth century? Were the medieval guilds losing their prestige and their vitality? Was the ultimate disappearance of the English medieval drama an inevitable fate, which was simply hastened by the Protestant character of English government under Edward VI and Elizabeth?

An answer to these questions can only be given after long research into the very varied problems of English local administration and economic life in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Father Gardiner has no claim to rank as a specialist in this field; but English medieval studies have been largely concentrated on these very problems during the past half-century, and the authority of Sir William Ashley, for example, can be cited for the view that there was no decline in material well-being in the average English town of the mid-sixteenth century, whatever may be true of a "decay" in their public municipal life.[1] The guilds in particular were, with an occasional local exception due to some temporary cause, still in the full tide of their prosperity; the records of local craft organisation become more and more abundant during Elizabeth's reign; and an American student of these records has come to the conclusion "that the government was showing itself thoroughly in sympathy with the policy pursued by the associations, and was giving them distinct encouragement to continue".[2] One local antiquarian at Chester, who has made a long and detailed study of the Chester guilds, is cited by Father Gardiner for the view that no decline can be noted in the guilds of this town before the seventeenth century.

These economic factors are important, since most of the medieval religious drama was staged, on one or more feast-days of the year, by local craft-guilds of the towns. Here in Dublin, for example, the annual pageant for Corpus Christi was staged by all the craft-guilds of the city, and a fine was imposed for failure to present that portion of the pageant for which each guild was responsible. There is no clear evidence of an annual play, or cycle of plays, in medieval Dublin or Drogheda or Kilkenny; but Sir Edmund Chambers has compiled a list of more than a hundred

[1] Sir Wm. Ashley: *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory* (1925), Vol. I, Part 2, p. 50.

[2] S. Kramer: *The English Craft-Gilds and the Government* (Columbia University, 1905).

English towns in which there is evidence for some form of dramatic representation. Father Gardiner has been able to add four names (Durham, Wakefield, Doncaster and Wells) as one fruit of his own researches. He is also able to give a most interesting account of the methods used by the guilds for meeting the costs of production. Each new master of a trade was required to contribute " to the sustentation and bringing forth " of the guild's pageant. At York, for example, any guildsman who opened a new shop was expected to pay a fee of sixteen pence, half of which was devoted to this purpose. At Coventry the guild of " Bowyers and Fletchers " had a rule that " what stranger that is made brother to them " was required to pay a fee for his brotherhood, of which 6s. 8d. was assessed as his contribution " to the cost and reparacion of the pageant ". At Newcastle-on-Tyne every tailor made free of the craft had to pay eight pence towards the production of the play. Fines were an additional source to this income ; and there are occasional records (as one might expect) of donations and legacies for the same purpose. Annual levies were also made from every member of every guild, but Father Gardiner holds that these annual payments of " silver " or " pencys " for the guild's play were never expected to cover more than a small fraction of the total cost. The sums so levied seem to have varied from place to place, and there are undoubtedly records which prove that, in times of distress or for other special causes, they were occasionally the subject of complaint. But the individual member's payment was seldom more than a token payment, " a reminder that individuals were bound to the communal duties of the guild ". Those members who took an active part in the production of a play or pageant were paid for their personal services at a rate which more than compensated them for the customary levy.

There is thus, it would seem, little substance in the thesis of writers like Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, who were unduly impressed by the occasional record of such complaints and failed to set them in their proper perspective against the general background of the times. The evidence of the Coventry Leet Book, which has been printed in full by M. D. Harris, is frequently cited in this connection. Father Gardiner has made a careful analysis of this evidence, from which it is plain that many of these loose generalisations were based on a series of extracts, taken from their context and strung together so as to give an entirely misleading impression of continual protests and complaints. Father Gardiner's summing-up deserves to be quoted as a very reasonable statement of his views (pp. 44-5) :" First of all, there was little or no continual burden on the individual guild member, and what there may have been of this was in many instances amply compensated by monetary awards and prestige ; second, the burden upon the guilds as corporate bodies, though it might bear on this or that guild heavily for a time, was generally regulated in a spirit of fairness by the town authorities, and was never so widespread or intensive but

that other guilds were always ready and willing to contribute toward or fully take over the embarrassed pageants." Indeed, as any one acquainted with local life in any country might expect, the evidence is plain that local guilds were eager to recover lost prestige by restoring their own customary contributions to so popular a feature of the town's public life and devotion.

What of the Church's legislation? Father Gardiner devotes the opening chapters of his thesis to this problem, and is again able to dissipate a good deal of misunderstanding, due once more to loose citation of texts divorced from their proper context. As far back as 1854 J. Douhet made an immense collection of ecclesiastical decrees and other decisions concerning the medieval drama and every other form of secular entertainment, from buffoonery to the professional stage. This collection was printed by Migne under the misleading title of *Dictionnaire des Mystères*, as vol. 43 of Migne's *Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique* (1854). Douhet's collection has served as an all-too-accessible quarry for more recent scholars, who have gone to it again and again for texts that can be easily copied and cited in support of some special thesis. Even so good a scholar as Sir Edmund Chambers has sometimes allowed himself to be led astray by Douhet's uncritical work. As Father Gardiner very truly notes, "in a volume dealing expressly with the mysteries we have a whole set of legislation that has little or nothing to do with the sacred drama, but is directed towards secular festivities". The prevailing notion that the Catholic Church tended as a whole to view the development even of religious drama with suspicion, if not with open hostility, has thus been fostered by careless citation of documents that need to be more carefully studied in relation to time and space.

Let us begin with a fundamental text. Writing to the archbishop and bishops of the province of Gnesen in Poland as far back as 1207, Innocent III complained of celebrations which had been reported to him as taking place within the actual churches of the province, and which are certainly to be identified as some form of the well-known Feast of Fools. Innocent's letter was later incorporated in the *Decretales* of Gregory IX (Lib. III, tit. i, cap. 12) and thus became part of the canon law of the Catholic Church. As always, Innocent III is here most precise in his language. He complains that certain *ludi teatrales*[1] are played within the churches (*in ecclesiis*) and that masked figures (*monstra larvarum*) are brought into these rude entertainments (*ad ludibriorum spectacula introducuntur*). Priests, deacons, and subdeacons sometimes take part in these plays; and the Pope issues a strict order that this custom or rather abuse (*consuetudinem vel potius corruptelam*) should be suppressed: *ne per huiusmodi turpitudinem ecclesie inquinetur honestas*. Sir Edmund Chambers saw plainly that this

[1] The epithet *teatralis* seems to mean little more than "public" or "popular" in this context.

prohibition is not directed against all forms of drama, but simply against the particular form of rough comedy which, from the masked figures that took part in it, got its name of the Feast of Fools. The Pope's prohibition is also limited to such plays as were staged within the church-buildings, and in which priests, deacons and subdeacons took part. Father Gardiner makes the important point that this prohibition is the only law binding on the Universal Church in connection with the whole wide range of medieval drama. Other prohibitions, which are constantly cited by modern historians, are local in character and can frequently be explained by some local circumstance or by the personal opinions of some individual prelate. The increasing secularisation of the late medieval drama was not uniform, but varied from country to country and from town to town.

Speaking generally, there is no evidence at all that the Church as a body, or even that most Catholic bishops and theologians, were opposed to the mystery plays and morality plays, even in their later and less religious development. It is not even certain that the Church's later hostility to the professional actors, and to theatrical performances as a whole, can be traced back further than the sixteenth century with its unhappy division of European Christendom into " Reformation " and " Counter-Reformation ". Two medieval theologians of note can be cited for their opposition to professional actors ; both are Dominicans of the fifteenth century. In Florence, then at the height of its glory as a centre of the humanistic Renaissance, St. Antoninus taught definitely, citing St. Thomas, that the profession of actor (*histrio*) was not in itself illicit ; but added that the circumstances of the actor's life were such that the profession, as practised in his day, was unlawful and must be abandoned by every Christian who wished to avoid the occasion of sin. In England the great Dominican preacher John Bromyard teaches much the same doctrine in his *Summa Predicantium*. The friars as a whole, to judge from Dr. Owst's many curious texts, were among the most active promoters of miracles and moralities until they were suppressed or exiled by Henry VIII.

Once we come to the middle of the sixteenth century, legislation begins to be common, not only in England but in France, Germany and northern Italy. Father Gardiner has collected a wealth of detailed evidence to illustrate his main contention : that the new Protestant challenge to the age-old faith of Europe began to affect the religious drama very much earlier, and more disastrously than is commonly known. Henry VIII had begun his reign as Defender of the Faith ; and the author of *Assertio VII Sacramentorum contra Lutherum* could have no fault to find with any pageant or drama that was, as so many of these plays were in fact, intimately associated with the mystery of Corpus Christi. But Henry was quick to sense the possibility of exploiting the popular drama as a vehicle for anti-papal propaganda. In Germany the attack on the old Catholic drama had begun as early as 1523, when the traditional Good

Friday play was suppressed by the Lutheran reformers.[1] Plays in which the sale of indulgences or similar anti-papal themes are exploited become commoner with every year of the new movement in Germany and Switzerland. Henry VIII had thus not far to seek when he decided to encourage propaganda of this kind within his own kingdom. Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer were the actual promoters of this new scheme, but another name occurs in this connection which has a peculiar interest for Irishmen.

In 1536 a German Lutheran named Kirchmayer, who preferred to write his name in the monstrous Graeco-Latin form of Naogeorgos, wrote an ultra-Protestant drama to which he gave the title *Pammachius*. Either the first or the second (1542) edition of this play was dedicated to Cranmer. It was translated into English by John Bale, the apostate Carmelite friar who came over to this country as Edward VI's " bilious bishop " of Ossory in 1553. The theme of *Pammachius* is the story of Anti-Christ, with the Romish Pope as the central figure. Bale had composed Protestant plays of his own making before that date, and he was not slow in arranging a performance for the benefit of his flock in Kilkenny—in itself an argument in favour of my view that the townsfolk of Kilkenny were accustomed to *ludi teatrales* in the late Middle Ages.[2] Here is Bale's own account of what was done on this occasion, as set forth in his *Vocacyon to Ossory*: " The young men in the forenoon played a tragedy of God's promises in the Old Law, at the market cross, with organ, playings and songs, very aptly. In the afternoon again they played a comedy of Saint John Baptist's preaching, of Christ's Baptising, and of the Temptation in the Wilderness, to the small contentacion of the priests and other papists there ". The bishop took part in the performance himself, delivering an opening and closing speech or sermon from the stage. Soon afterwards he was chased from the city by his indignant audience.

The most Protestant of all Bale's plays was produced in London as early as 1538. This was his *Kyng Johan*, which was once at least the occasion of a riot in the last years of Henry VIII's reign. A sworn inquiry was held in consequence of this disturbance. One of the spectators declared on oath the lesson he had learned from this play. " King John," he swore, " was as noble a prince as ever was in England, and thereby we might perceive that he was the beginner of the putting down of the bishop of Rome, and thereof we might all be glad "; whilst another declared that " it was a pity that the bishop of Rome should reign any longer, for he would do with our King as he did with King John ".

Henry VIII made no secret of his pleasure at such performances, and Father Gardiner cites one incident which brings us straight into the heart

[1] For Protestant failure to understand Catholic devotion to " Christ's blissful Passion ", see Father Gardiner, p. xi.

[2] " The Origins of the Anglo-Irish Theatre," in STUDIES (June, 1939), pp. 260-74.

of those very troubled and tragic years. We hear of the incident from Chapuys, the Spanish ambassador, who describes it in one of his despatches in 1535. A mystery play, based on the Apocalypse, was staged somewhere about thirty miles outside London in the summer of that year. Henry got notice of the performance, rose at two o'clock in the morning and walked ten of the thirty miles to be present in person. He sat in a house from which he could see the actors without being seen himself by the audience. Soon he was " so pleased to see himself represented as cutting off the heads of the clergy that, in order to laugh at his ease and encourage the people, he disclosed himself ". That was some twelve months before the Pilgrimage of Grace, with its tragic consequences for the more Catholic folk of Northern England. Reports came to the King about this time that some of the old traditional performances " in our ancient city of York " were being used as an occasion for " the seditious conduct of certain papists ". Instructions were promptly sent north " for apprehending and putting in prison any papists who shall, in performing interludes which are founded on any portion of the Old or New Testament, say or make use of any language which may tend to excite those who are beholding the same to any breach of the peace ". What was sauce for the Romish goose was not sauce for the royal gander !

Need we wonder that Bishop Bonner of London thought it prudent to prohibit (in 1542) the production of " common plays, games and interludes " in the churches and chapels of his diocese ? The Corpus Christi plays had already been " laid aside for ever by order " at Ipswich in 1531.

With the accession of Edward VI in 1546, the flood-gates were opened. Some years later, when Mary's reign had brought about a revival of Catholic faith and Catholic traditions, one of the Protestant exiles on the Continent recalled the good days under her young brother's rule : " God's word in that time had the prize and bore the bell away throughout the whole land ". He adds a comment that is to our purpose : " With God's word was every man's mouth occupied ; of that were all songs, interludes and plays made ". In 1551 the Venetian ambassador reports to the Senate that the English were showing their disobedience to the Pope and their contempt for him " in paintings, comedies, and in all their amusements ". The fashion had been set by the court from the first days of the new reign. The revels at Edward's own coronation were anti-papal, and the boy-king himself took part in the performances. One Protestant interlude of this time is evidently an up-to-date version of an old medieval morality on the Seven Deadly Sins. The Pope is pride ; wrath is a bishop ; envy a friar ; and so forth. Protestant preaching was now at the height of its anti-papal fury ; and Strype tells us that the new reformers " made rhymes and plays and jests " of the Mass and the Eucharist. Henry VIII had opened the way for more than he knew when

he encouraged Cromwell and Cranmer to produce the new German type of anti-papal drama in London.

In 1543 the old King, then nearing his end, sought to put some check on this new flood of Protestant propaganda by an Act " for the advancement of true religion and for the abolishment of the contrary ". By the terms of this Act " songs, plays and interludes . . . for the rebuking and reproaching of vices and the setting forth of virtue " were allowed, provided they did not meddle with the vexed question of the interpretation of Scripture. This was, of course, precisely the favourite weapon in the armoury of militant Lutheranism. Bale lost no time in protesting against the new Act in his *Epistel Exhortatorye of an Inglyshe Christian*, which appeared in 1544 as the work of " Henry Stallbridge ". Cranmer, as archbishop of Canterbury, did his best to interpret the law so as to favour the new doctrines ; but his full chance did not come until the reign of Edward VI. Henry's Act of 1543 was one of the first laws repealed in the new reign. Henceforth, until their campaign was rudely interrupted by Mary's successful bid for power in 1553, the Protestant preachers and playwrights had it all their own way.

Mary's reign was no more than a brief interlude, in which the government seems to have shown surprising moderation in this matter of Protestant or Catholic propaganda. One strongly Catholic play, the *Respublica*, was produced in these years ; but the Queen's policy seems to have aimed at discouraging all such polemics on the stage, whether produced by Catholics or Protestants. Very probably the more old-fashioned English Catholics were at a loss to produce new plays suited to the polemical tastes of a new generation. They were concerned to preserve or restore the old traditional forms of religious drama ; and we are thus led to the sad final chapter in this story, not of gradual decay, but of violent suppression by order of a hostile government.

Elizabeth's reign opened, as in the first days of Edward VI, with a significant demonstration. The first court masque of Twelfth Night (1559) consisted of a mummery " of crows in the habits of cardinals, asses habited as bishops, and wolves representing abbots ". A few weeks later the Venetian ambassador was writing to the Senate " of performances in the hostels and taverns of certain plays and games on holidays, which used to be held in abuse and derision of the Catholic religion, of the Mass, of the saints, and finally of God ". Father Gardiner is quick to note the exaggeration in this last phrase. Then, as now, diplomatic representatives from abroad were apt to send home inaccurate accounts, tinged by their own personal prejudices or loyalties. But there can be no doubt at all as to the increasing virulence of Protestant propaganda, especially in London and the eastern counties. What is of far more interest is to note the strength of the resistance to an administration as efficient and as highly centralised as was Cecil's government during the first twenty

years of Elizabeth's reign. London and the eastern counties might be quick to follow, or even to anticipate, the Queen's new policy; but towns like York and Chester and Coventry, where local pride in the splendour and excellence of their traditional pageantry was strong, put up a sturdy fight for the continuance of the ancient mysteries.

Father Gardiner begins by reminding us of the very complicated and clumsy machinery through which Cecil and the rest of the Council had to work, when there was question of enforcing royal policy in the more distant parts of the kingdom. The key to the position in each area was the justice of the peace. In 1564 the Council sent a letter to all the bishops asking them to report on the justices of the peace in each of their dioceses. The report of the bishops was not encouraging: of 851 justices in 21 dioceses only 431 were favourable to the government's new religious policy. The Council were soon to find that the common folk of some important towns were capable of stubborn resistance when there was question of maintaining these popular traditional observances.

Taking England as a whole, the government's policy was a full ten or twenty years ahead in its actual effect on the neighbourhood of London or the prosperous area of the eastern counties as compared with the rest of the country. At Ipswich, as we have seen, the cycle had "been laid aside for ever by order" as early as 1531. At Norwich the Corpus Christi cycle was played for the last time in 1564. The Chelmsford cycle is last heard of in 1562-3. At New Rhomney in Kent there was a spectacular revival of the old play in 1560, when the editor of the *New Rhomney Records* notes that the play was "by far the most important item of expense" in the town's accounts for 1560-61. There is no further trace of the play in the New Rhomney accounts until 1568, when the play was revived for the last time in the face of stubborn opposition from an important element in the town. Sir Edmund Chambers has noted that, between 1564 and 1574, various records prove that some of these towns were hiring out their costumes and other properties, with a view to organising smaller performances in the neighbouring towns and villages. This ingenious device may have been attempted as a compromise between continuance of the former plays in their full splendour and total suppression of a popular custom. At Chelmsford, for example, an inventory of stage properties was taken in 1564, after the performance of 1563; but we hear no more of the plays after that date.

The situation was very different in the north and west. At York some passages were excised from the text of the Corpus Christi plays in 1561, but the performance was otherwise given in full. There is a melancholy entry in the York *House Books* for May of this year: "Forasmuch as the late feast of Corpus Christi is not now celebrated and kept holy day as it was accustomed, it is therefore agreed that on Corpus eve my lord mayor and aldermen shall in making the proclamation go about in seemly sad

apparel, and not in scarlet ". In 1562 some of the corporation proposed that the plays should be postponed from Corpus Christi to the feast of St. Barnabas (June 11); but the commons would not consent, and the pageant was held in full on the traditional date for both 1562 and 1563. War and pestilence troubled the city for the next four years, and the plays were intermitted. In 1568 Dean Hutton, who had recently been appointed a member of "Her Majesty's Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes in the North", demanded that the corporation should submit the book of the play for his inspection and approval. His verdict was unfavourable: "As I find so many things that I much like because of the antiquities, so I see many things that I cannot allow because they be disagreeing from the sincerity of the Gospel; the which things, if they should either be altogether cancelled or altered into other matters, the whole drift of the play should be altered, and therefore I dare not put my pen unto it". After further preliminaries, he ends by giving his decision: "Surely my advice should be that it should not be played, for though it was plausible to years ago and would now also of the ignorant sort be well liked, yet now in the happy time of the Gospel I know the learned will mislike it". And he ends with a final, extremely significant phrase: "and how the state will bear it, I know not".

The dean's advice could hardly have been plainer. Men had learned during the reigns of Henry VIII and his children that it was rash to do in public what the King's or Queen's Council might be unwilling to bear. The city's council met on March 30, and the records tell us that "it is agreed to have no play this year, and the book of the Crede play to be delivered again"—apparently into the custody of the redoubtable Dean Hutton. Popular discontent was strong enough to cause the question of the play to be raised again in November of that year. The commons, we are told, "were much desirous to have the Corpus Christi play this year"; the Council "woll not agree, but that the book thereof shall be perused and otherwise amended before it be played". Some corrected version must have been approved in the course of that winter, for the traditional plays were performed at the customary fourteen stations in the following year. It is the last performance of which we have any record. In November of that same year (1569) the Northern Lords were in open rebellion against the Crown. After the failure of their revolt, as Father Gardiner notes, "when almost every village green in the affected areas had its gibbet to testify to the Queen's stern power, there was little heart left for the celebrations, even if the plays had not become, as they doubtless did, objects of still greater suspicion to the government as smacking of the popery for which it had been one of the avowed purposes of the Lords to win tolerance, if not complete re-establishment". The year 1569 is thus in truth the end of a long chapter in the story of York's civic life.

The story is much the same in Chester, though the old plays were

performed here as late as 1568-9, 1572 and 1575. John Hankey, a Protestant mayor, was here the chief opponent of the old observances, though he got into trouble with Cecil and the Council for failure to enforce more prompt and rigorous suppression. At Wakefield, as we have seen, an effort was made to revive the plays in 1576; but it was checked by order of the Court of High Commission. In Coventry, perhaps the most famous centre of the old Corpus Christi plays, records of the city's guilds show that popular feeling was strong for the retention of the ancient custom. In 1564 the masters of the smith's company were required to take an oath " to keep unto the uttermost all such laudable customs as pageants, quartage, weddings, buryings and such other like things as hath been in times past used and customed ". This corporate feeling is all the more remarkable since Coventry had been a noted centre of Lollardy in the fifteenth century. The fame of the Coventry plays, which are named in a well-known verse of the *Canterbury Tales*, seems to have produced a local pride in their performance which strengthened the citizens in their determination to keep these ancient customs until as late as the year 1579. There is no record of any performance for the four years 1580-83. In 1584 a tragedy of more modern type, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, was composed by a Mr. Smythe of Oxford as a substitute for the old traditional plays; it seems to have been a failure and was not revived in 1585. As late as 1591 the guilds of Coventry were making preparations for a revival of the old pageants with new songs; but the corporation intervened with an order that Mr. Smythe's tragedy should be played once more " on Midsummer's Day and on St. Peter's Day ". Another order was made at this same meeting (May 19), that the maypoles should be taken down in Coventry. The old order was indeed passing away before men's eyes.

Elizabeth's policy (or Cecil's policy) was only too plain from the first: these ancient customary observances were to be quietly, but firmly suppressed. A time-lag of at least ten years separates the enforcement of this new policy in the North and West from the more Protestant eastern counties. But the government had its way in the end, and the mysteries were no longer played in any of England's ancient medieval towns. During the reign of James I the Spanish ambassador Gondomar passed the night of one Good Friday in some unknown year (between 1613 and 1622) at Ely House in Holborn. Christ's Passion was acted in the house that night, and the Puritan pamphleteer Prynne tells us from memory that " there were thousands present ". Father Gardiner asks very fairly: was the presence of these Londoners due to no more than mere curiosity? Have we, in this isolated revival of an ancient Catholic tradition, a last sadly pathetic witness to the desire, still latent in the hearts of many Englishmen, for the noble and beautiful things that had been lost under Tudor rule?

AUBREY GWYNN

SOME ASPECTS OF IRISH THEATRE

BY GABRIEL FALLON

FROM its cradle to her grave, the Abbey Theatre was Augusta Gregory. Lennox Robinson editing the *Journals*[1] of that remarkable woman puts the matter in another way. Summing up her endless interest in the Theatre's affairs from the arrangement of its repertoire down to " that bit of worn carpet leading to the stalls," he says :[2] " We can rightly praise Synge and O'Casey and many another fine playwright, talk of the genius of this player and that, but without Lady Gregory's doggedness and determination these people might never have, artistically, existed. Our Theatre would not be open to-day save for her. Lady Gregory was—is—the Abbey Theatre." The *Journals* cover a period of eleven Abbey Theatre years—1919–1930. There are gaps ; inevitable, no doubt, and regrettable. Yet enough remains from which to assess the subject in its dual aspect, Woman and Theatre, from which to conclude that, so to speak, the Abbey Theatre was more Augusta Gregory than Augusta Gregory was the Abbey Theatre. There can be no comparison in the present tense.

I

Of Lady Gregory's doggedness and determination there can be no question. Those who knew her will testify to those qualities which, as she told me on one occasion, were enshrined for her in the saying " *Grip* is a good dog, but *Holdfast* is a better." Her amazing grasp of the fundamentals of theatre has been thrust aside to some extent in paying homage to those qualities which made a scholarly writer on the Abbey compare the " greatest living Irishwoman " to the great Queen Elizabeth.[3] Much may still be learned by intending playwrights from her notes on the writing of her own plays in which, as Una Ellis Fermor points out,[4] dramatic theory is almost entirely practice : " it is reduced, that is to say, to a few brief records of what she was prompted to try, how it worked out and what it lead to in its turn." Much more may be learned from those fundamentals of theatre which even here, in these broken records, clearly show that Lady Gregory contributed much that was vital in making the Abbey great amongst the theatres of the earth.

On April 1, 1921, she records : " Afternoon post brought circulars from Robinson. I have made spills of them ; quite untrue about the foundation of the Theatre. Miss Horniman made the *building* not the Theatre, and we bought it from her when she stopped her help." Lady

[1] *Lady Gregory's Journals* 1916–1930. Edited by Lennox Robinson. London : Putnam. 1946. 18s.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[3] *The Irish Dramatic Movement.* Una Ellis Fermor, p. 57.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Gregory's anger aside, the matter is by no means as trivial as it may seem. A *building* (and she underlines the word) is *not* a theatre, and it was not *the* Theatre. " The Theatre—the Irish National Theatre—was in existence before her—we did not ' take it over ' from her." Yet how many to-day make the mistake of confusing a *building* with a theatre—indeed of confusing a building with *the* Theatre ; and thereby ignoring that considerable theatrical activity which is taking place outside the building in question.

On the 27 December 1925, the Abbey Theatre celebrated its 21st Birthday. The occasion was honoured with the production of the plays which had graced its opening performance. There were speeches—some brief, some tedious. Then Lady Gregory's turn came. I remember particularly noting what she said in conclusion and I am pleased to find her own reactions recorded as follows : " The only words I thought good were towards the end when I said—Three is the number of perfection . . . In the theatre we have the three A's, interdependent, inseparable : Author, Actor, Audience. We are necessary to one another. And I said that if these three hold together, I hope the Abbey will last into the far future and leave a fine tradition, and I quoted from *The Golden Helmet : ' That the long-remembering harpers have matter for their song.'* There was great applause and I think sincere." Here now is the logical step from a building is not a theatre. A theatre, if it is anything, is a co-operation of that interdependent inseparable trinity—the three A's : Author, Actor, Audience. Yet how many misunderstandings have arisen in our theatrical history from a failure to acknowledge that basic principle, to face the fact that the co-operation of the three A's is, so to speak, the very *mark* of theatre.

In the early years of the Abbey Theatre there was a circular called *Advice to Playwrights*. This circular was sent to intending dramatists whose plays the Directors were obliged to return unused.[1] Its operative passages ran as follows :—

> . . . . A play to be suitable for performance at the Abbey should contain some criticism of life, founded on the experience or personal observation of the writer, or some vision of life, of Irish life by preference, important from its beauty or from some excellence of style ; and this intellectual quality is not more necessary to tragedy than to the gayest comedy . . . .
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> . . . . Young writers should remember that they must get all their effects from the logical expression of their subject, and not by the addition of extraneous incidents ; and that a work of art can have but one subject. A work of art, though it must have the effect of nature, is art because it is not nature, as Goethe said ; and it must possess a unity unlike the accidental profusion of nature.

It is easy to detect the work of Yeats and Lady Gregory here, and it is interesting to reflect that Yeats at least was faithful to his text in the rejection of *The Silver Tassie*. However, my purpose in quoting the

[1] *Our Irish Theatre*. Lady Gregory. Pp. 101–2.

Circular is not only to help reflection on the quality of the current acceptances at the Abbey but to show what Lady Gregory had in mind when she wrote in her Journal on 26 September 1924 : " Yesterday morning to the Abbey, going through business with Perrin and Dolan, and desiring that the list of proposed plays should be submitted to me, as had been done all these years until now. Lennox Robinson in the afternoon and we talked of this ; a good deal of rubbish has been put on for next weeks . . . I said some more solid work must be taken up."

Something of her pleasure in what she called " *solid-work* " is conveyed in the entry for 30 August 1919 : " The Abbey very encouraging ; most splendid ' Horse Show ' audiences for *Dragon* and Dunsany's *Night at An Inn*, and especially for *John Bull's Other Island*. Such enthusiastic delight. And ours is the only theatre in Dublin where real drama is being given, one has *The Maid of the Mountains* and the other variety shows." It is clear that she was giving no quarter so far as " *real drama* " was concerned. Earlier in the year (it is recorded in her *Journal* for April 19th) she had spoken to Lennox Robinson about the standard which the Theatre must preserve : " We must have two horizons : one the far one, the laying of it ' on the threshold of Eternity ' ; the nearer one the coming of Home Rule or whatever the new arrangement that must come maybe when the Irish from America and elsewhere will come back to see their Country. We must keep the theatre something we should be proud to show."

Her entry for 5 August 1925 shows Yeats preparing his speech of thanks for the subsidy provided by the Government. " I said ' Praise the Abbey and tell how its influence has spread in America ; they keep telling us that this Little Theatre movement that is taking such hold came out of our visit there. Every Continent has recognised it or given our plays. Australia (Melbourne), South Africa (where they translated *Spreading the News* into Dutch), in India and China.' He began to dictate and then I said : ' We are getting Ireland recognised for drama as, before the Union, Grattan's Parliament was recognised for oratory. The last century has been dumb to the outer world, its novels poor, no distinguished literature.' And he took that up, ' A splendid idea,' and began elaborating it—' the works written in the last century were written for the stranger. We at the Abbey write for ourselves, not looking outside. And we have all classes producing our dramatic literature. The old parliamentary oratory came from but one '."

That the Abbey under her direction could make " *solid work* " pay, and do so independently of the Government subsidy, is indicated in the entry for 6 May 1926 : " Abbey audit good. We made in the year (to February 28) a net profit of £843 os. 7d., not counting subsidy. Last year's deficiency paid off. We have a balance of £1,144 13s. 3d. Our receipts in the year (all taken and spent in Dublin) was £9,350. Very good." Yes, she was pleased, very pleased, as she thought of the years

of begging and scrimping, the bank loans and the mortgages, the lectures and collections in London by herself and Yeats and Shaw—anything to turn an honest copper to the benefit of her Little Theatre. Yet when trouble showed itself in objections to O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars*, she was adamant in her determination that there should be no interference. The money didn't matter. " I said at once (20 September 1925), our position is clear. If we have to choose between the subsidy and our freedom, it is our freedom we choose."

These were troubled years within and without the Theatre. The Anglo-Irish and the Irish-Irish wars brought their own particular complications to the Abbey's doorstep. They found Lady Gregory a gallant and determined Irishwoman. Intimidation didn't daunt her. The woman who had defied the British Lord Lieutenant's attempt to pose as the British Lord Chamberlain (using cavalry and mounted police as an integral part of the impersonation) wasn't going to be intimidated by a handful of Black-and-Tans. And so, until faced with the unanswerable exigency of an 8 p.m. Curfew, her Theatre remained open. A gesture was called for maybe. Very well, then ; she found it in staging Terence MacSwiney's *The Revolutionist*. 25 February 1921 : " A large audience, much interested in the play. Mrs. MacSwiney was there : I went to meet her in the green-room ; such a charming face and manner ; ' a sweet girl ' she would have been called a while ago. I told her with what pride we gave this play for the first time, that we felt we were laying a wreath upon the grave."

Within the theatre she had many problems to contend with, major as well as minor. The fosterage of O'Casey was not without its setbacks. And the period under review culminated in the rejection of *The Silver Tassie*. She faced these matters in her own inimitable way, kindly determined to do that which her conscience told her to do. Objections by players, protests from playwrights, a rioting audience ; all were treated in the same firm yet motherly way. She felt perhaps that Barry Fitzgerald was not getting the opportunities he deserved ; she got them for him. Her dear Sara Allgood should be treated with more respect ; she saw to it that Sara was so treated. Playwrights owed her much ; many of them acknowledged the debt. 24 April 1926 : " A nice letter from T. C. Murray : ' We are all your children and your word of praise is very heartening to us '." Under 8 March 1924, she records the following from Sean O'Casey : " I owe a great deal to you and Mr. Yeats and Mr. Robinson, but to you above all. You gave me encouragement. And it was you who said to me upstairs in the office—I could show you the very spot where you stood—' Mr. Casey, your gift is characterisation.' And so I threw over my theories and worked at characters, and this is the result." And with all this, that worn piece of carpet leading to the stalls had a less worn piece carefully sewn over it. Lady Gregory, with the assistance of her esteemed friend, Mrs. Martin, the Theatre's charwoman, saw to that.

Such are the glimpses which these Journals afford of that part of the Abbey Theatre which was Augusta Gregory. There were other parts not less significant, perhaps, and generally in accord with hers. But none had that constancy, that determination, that clear perception of principles, that desire to serve them, that impatience with "*rubbish,*" that love of "*solid work,*" that motherly interest in playwright, player, and theatre personnel, which made the theatre of Lady Gregory the Abbey Theatre that mattered. Since her time there have been many changes: bigger business, greater efficiency, perhaps, but more "*rubbish,*" less "*solid work.*" As one of her own characters puts it in *Workhouse Ward*: "When the old man died, the garden died." Preparations are now being made for the building of a bigger Abbey Theatre. But there is no one now to enforce the distinction between a *building* and a Theatre, or to ensure that the long remembering harpers will have matter for their song.

The Abbey Theatre was only a part of Lady Gregory. Her *Journals,* begun towards the end of 1916, comprise approximately 500,000 words. Their Editor has abridged them in this volume to 140,000. "It has not been an easy task" is his comment. He has set them out admirably in sections representing the main interests in Lady Gregory's life—Coole, the Abbey Theatre, The Terror, The Civil War, Persons and Books, the Lane Pictures, and finally, Odds and Ends, felicitiously arranged under Friends, Writing, Reading, Home. The Abbey Theatre section apart, many will enjoy her reflections on persons and places; the conversations she records; her zest in life and work, while the Big Houses are falling round her and the last links snap that bind her and her class to the old ways. This book is an important book and a fascinating one, and editorially a fine achievement.

II

On 22 November 1928 Lady Gregory wrote in her *Journal*: "I stayed on at the Abbey and had tea at a café and went into the Gate Theatre performance at the Peacock. It was *Diarmuid and Grania* by Micheál Mac Liammóir—beautifully staged and lighted; no plot, just the simple story of Finn and the lovers. Simple language, a straight story, very moving. It had been given in Irish in Galway and had been very successful there. A new departure. I felt far more in sympathy with it than with *The Big House* at the Abbey, going on next door." A very revealing extract.

The story of this "new departure" is most entertainingly (if somewhat meanderingly) told by Micheál MacLiammóir himself in *All for Hecuba*[1] described as "An Irish Theatrical Autobiography." Written in a style which a friend of the author's describes as being "that of an herbaceous border"[2] the work is wilful, wise, witty, sometimes malicious and generally

[1] *All For Hecuba: An Irish Theatrical Autobiography.* By Micheál MacLiammóir. London: Methuen. 1946. 21s.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 371.

without form. Dates of events are ignored ; time is used in the manner of an expressionistic dramatist, to-morrow merges with yesterday and to-day with both ; yet much of extreme importance to the student of the period's theatre may be abstracted from its four hundred lively pages.

Sometime in the twenties one Hilton Edwards met Micheál Mac Liammóir in the touring company of Anew McMaster, distinguished Shakespearian actor and MacLiammóir's brother-in-law. Micheál, a fine romantic actor, who painted a little, wrote a little, and spoke a number of languages (including Irish) with fluency, had ideas about *décor* and hopes of establishing something theatrically worth while (and yet different from the Abbey) in this country. Hilton Edwards, a first-class actor with considerable experience (including four years with the Old Vic Shakespearian Company) and an amazing mastery of technique, had himself some ideas about production, an itch to be occupied, and apparently inexhaustible energy. Leaving McMaster's Company, they found themselves after many tribulations preparing to launch a new theatre movement by taking the diminutive Peacock Theatre to present, of all things, Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*. Dublin politely sniggered. But it was a different story when the MacLiammóir *décor* and Edwards' production and acting made it clear that not only was this one of the finest presentations that Dublin had ever seen, but that it marked the beginning of a new era in Irish Theatre.

Being enthusiasts, they were content to struggle. The struggle led them through some of the finest presentations of their career. Calling themselves The Gate Theatre Company, their first manifesto declared the intention " to establish in Dublin an international theatre for the production of plays of unusual interest, and to experiment in methods of presentation free from the conventional limitations of the commercial theatre."[1] Mostly the plays presented in those early days were translations of continental authors with occasional dips into the works of Eugene O'Neil (*The Hairy Ape, Anna Christie*) and with a *décor* à la Beardsley production of Oscar Wilde's *Salome*. Their first production of the work of an Irish author was *Juggernaut* by David Sears, which had been rejected by the Abbey, a clever significant work—from many points of view the best play its author has written.

Before the coming of Edwards and MacLiammóir, Dublin had been catered for in the matter of continental plays by the Dublin Drama League, an organisation founded in 1919 by Lennox Robinson, James Stephens and W. B. Yeats for the purpose of securing " the production of plays which, in the ordinary course of events, would not be likely to be seen in Dublin." The organisation functioned on a subscription basis, and productions (about six to the season) took place on Sunday and Monday nights at the Abbey Theatre. The principal parts were usually played

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

by Abbey actors ; the rest were filled by amateur players, members of the League. After ten years of an existence which was not without its effect on the work of such dramatists as Denis Johnston and Sean O'Casey (whose contact with " expressionism " was first made through the D.D.L.) the League, feeling that its purpose had been fulfilled, handed over its torch to the Dublin Gate Theatre Ltd. With Messrs. Edwards and MacLiammóir doing the League's work and doing it in a fashion which far surpassed the League's best effort, it would have been futile to carry on. In December 1941 an attempt was made to revive the D.D.L. under the title " New Dublin Drama League." The attempt failed.

Edwards–MacLiammóir ended their Second Season at the Peacock with the first production of Denis Johnston's first-class piece of theatrical expressionism *The Old Lady Says No* ! (This was another Abbey reject). By this time they had gained sufficient support from those who perceived their quality to enable them to transfer their activities to the Rotunda Buildings, part of which the architect Michael Scott had successfully transformed into a permanent and suitable home for them. A Company (the Dublin Gate Theatre Ltd.) was registered on Christmas Eve 1929. On 17 February 1930 they opened to a full house with Goethe's *Faust*. A new play was presented every fortnight. The Gate Theatre grew steadily in reputation not only on account of the type of play presented but for the theatrical brilliance of the presentation. For the first time Dublin theatregoers were enjoying the delights of theatrically-informed *décor* and production. Indeed it is safe to say that until the coming of the Gate Theatre (and the Gate Theatre, with all due respects to its Directors and supporters, has always meant Edwards and MacLiammóir) Dublin knew little or nothing about either *décor* or production. Such things as design, setting costumes, lighting, colour, music, significant position and movement, cycloramic background and so on began to make their presence felt and to carry with them an influence only to be felt in the advanced European theatre.

The nature of the work is perhaps best suggested in the reactions of the workers themselves. Holidays were always spent on the Continent and in a round of theatre-going. Here is MacLiammóir describing such a period in Berlin in 1931[1] : " Every night we were at the theatre and I think I learned more about design that summer than ever before. It was Berlin with its Russian influences that taught me how unnecessary the British fetish of the customary masking-in was becoming, Berlin that broke up my growing obsession with Playfair's symmetry, that freed my brain from a thousand microscopic tyrannies of visual convention. And yet Berlin had its own fetishes of solidity and heavy representationalism, and as I watched the architectural magnificance of the Volksbuhne and Deutsches Theatre productions I began to wonder if the same splendour

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

could not be achieved with a lighter and more suggestive method." That is something of the aesthetic quality which, through an intensive Irish personality, was being infused into the work at Rotunda Buildings. And here is Edwards musing on a particular aspect of his own contribution :[1] " I wish I could see a new form, a sort of Elizabethanism, a simplicity—you don't know how I've grown to hate painted canvas, wooden structures, a half-hearted attempt to create an impossible illusion that when it's most successful is only a mirror of the commonplace. I believe in the direct contact, the taking of the audience into one's confidence, a sort of music-hall intimacy. ' Come down to me here, I've something to tell you.' That's how Shakespeare wrote, I'm certain of it. ' *You who are mute and audience to this act* '—that *you* means the audience, you see. ' *had I but time as this fell sergeant death*

Is swift in his arrest
O, I could tell you . . . '

See the thrill? Contact, you see; the audience becoming part of the play, *assisting*, isn't that what the French call it? "

And so it went on, the partners striving together towards the theatre of their heart's desire; every fortnight a new presentation : Shakespeare, Shaw and dozens and dozens of the major and minor works of Continental and American playwrights, finding new Irish writers in Denis Johnston, David Sears, Lord Longford, Lady Longford, Mary Manning, An Philibin, Ulick Burke, Hazel Ellis, and Robert Collis, but none with the startling promise of Johnston or the possibilities that fluttered around the *Juggernaut* of Sears.

In December 1930, a financial crisis had introduced Lord Longford, who became a Director and eventually Chairman of the Company. Differences of opinion between the Founders and the Chairman, however, upon the policy and management of the Theatre reached the point of insolubility. Lord Longford formed a company of his own, and an arrangement was reached whereby the Limited Company ceased to operate theatrically and the Theatre was leased for half the year to Longford Productions and for the other half to Edwards–MacLiammóir. The break came at a moment when the partners with a number of their players were playing in Cairo and Alexandria at the request of the Egyptian Government. Back in Dublin again the new arrangement had, if anything, the effect of giving increased zest to their imaginative work in the theatre, MacLiammóir excelling his former fine efforts in design and Edwards striving by every theatrical means to further a still closer co-operation between Author, Actor and Audience. Abroad the fame of the Dublin Gate Theatre began to spread. There was a triumphant return to Egypt. This was followed by presentations in Malta, Athens, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, Salonika, Sofia and Bucharest. These tours were all part of a

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 218.

deliberate development of the original policy of the Founders, who felt that they were thus able to exhibit an aspect of the modern Irish stage to other countries, and to bring back with them, for the benefit of their Irish audiences, invaluable experience of the methods and tendencies of the theatre abroad.

Something of the spirit of their work at that period is conveyed in a passage of the MacLiammóir Autobiography in which he describes himself as musing as follows :[1] " Yeats is worn out and the Abbey has come to mean something he had never planned ; our own theatre is already groping its way through a mire of public indifference and conventional interior neurosis, the muddy reaction of varying talents that can find no existing standard by which they might be measured. But we have proved that we are not afraid of work and poverty, and who shall tell but that the spade will hit something more than a stone one day and the magical fluid spring forth, and our corrupted weary faces be filled with light ? " But there was little need for dejection. The Abbey, fallen into the last rut of naturalism, seemed likely to remain there, and the only heart-lifting theatrical experience to be found in Dublin was to be found in the work of the Gate pioneers. Not all of their work was Edwards-MacLiammóir perfect, so to speak ; there were occasional lapses in choice of play, and towards the end of a season one might observe an expression of tiredness creeping into production or design. By their own superb aim and craftsmanship they had taught their audience to expect much ; much therefore was expected of them. Sensitive to criticism they were continually prone to feel that their efforts were not being appreciated, and MacLiammóir's book is garnished with cleverly malicious thrusts at Dublin audiences and critics. But whatever their more sycophantic admirers may really think of Edwards and MacLiammóir, there exists deep down in the heart of every genuine lover of the theatre a sincere appreciation of the work they have accomplished.

" Put it down in that book you're writing—it's quite simple really—that you and I have tried to make a theatre." Thus Edwards to Mac Liammóir[2]. " Put down where we have succeeded and where we have failed, what we have attempted and what in the confusion with Edward (Lord Longford) we have abandoned. Put it down that we have influenced the theatre in Dublin, because it is true, and that our aims have been pure even when the shape of our policy has been clouded at times by the exigencies of earning a living in a city whose body is smaller than its intellect." After the break with Lord Longford, particularly through the war years when tours were out of the question and Dublin's older theatres were at their wits end for programmes, formerly supplied from Britain, it became the custom for Edwards–MacLiammóir to put on seasons

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 371.

at the Gaiety. Except once or twice in the choice of play, their artistic standards were brilliantly maintained. The transfer proved that even in the wider and what is called the " commercial " arena, there was to be found, in Dublin, at any rate, a welcome for the finer things of theatre. No doubt, it was the consciousness of this fact which urged MacLiammóir to the following reflection :[1] " I say to myself that, if the living theatre is to survive, its destiny is to be housed in spaciousness, splendour, and freedom, and that the days of the little theatre movement are no more than a phase like that through which the Christian Church had to pass when it huddled in dark places under the Roman streets."

MacLiammóir closes his book on a final conversation with his partner and on an incident which may have a considerable effect on the history of the theatre in our time : " Put it down that whereas the Abbey set out to show Ireland to herself and then to the world, a better and a clearer line it may be than our own, we in the Gate began by attempting to show the world to Ireland, and that when we go away again we are going to bring with us the Irish plays that have grown out of that experience and that contact with European ideas that we have tried to bring about, and of which Denis Johnston and a few others will be the exponents . . . that the real tragedy of the Abbey is that its players, with the exception of Allgood, O'Neill, McCormick, Michael Dolan and Ria Mooney, cannot understand the plays of their own prophet, Yeats. Put down my conviction that the theatre is a grown-up toy which our generation is in danger of transforming into a childish and ineffectual medium for the intellect . . . that there seems to be few newcomers of note, and that until the playwrights discover a new form the work of the actor and producer is alike at a deadlock."[2] In this statement Edwards lays bare his feelings for poetical, for purely theatrical theatre, and for that modern experiment which, despite severe and unintelligent criticism, he boldly flaunted in his Gaiety presentation of Thornton Wilder's expressionism " *The Skin Of Our Teeth.*" " I stared at him. I had said none of these things . . . ' The Gate is a drama with no curtain line ' I said. ' Well, what do you say to this ? ' Hilton cried, pulling a letter from his pocket, ' this came to-night." Here's your curtain line—oh, not to what we're going to do, but to the place where we have done it all so far. This is from the Dublin Corporation. The Gate's to be condemned. The building's too old. It's no longer suitable. They may not allow it to function as a theatre any longer.' I read the formal wording not believing my eyes."[3]

III

Since then other events of significance to the theatre have taken place. The long delayed proposals for the re-building of the Abbey are about to

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 369.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 377–8.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 378.

take shape, and soon the noises of demolition will be heard in the little building which echoed the voices of the early founders of our theatre. A government plan for appropriating the condemned Rotunda buildings and erecting a municipal concert hall in their stead precludes the possibility of the re-establishment of a Gate Theatre on that site. Edwards–Mac Liammóir are preparing for a lengthy Canadian and U.S. tour. Lord Longford's plans are indefinite. No alternative building has been as yet proposed for the accommodation of the existing Abbey Theatre company.

There is a general feeling of unease concerning the future of the Irish theatre. The prospect is fraught with all kinds of possibilities. Critics of the Abbey deplore the evident loss of the playing tradition, the increasing tendency to present what Lady Gregory would call "*rubbish*", the absence of "*solid work*," the innovation of "long runs" which curtail the opportunities that weekly repertory formerly afforded the new dramatist, the almost complete disappearance of the one-act form, the lack of poetic content, the result of a subservience to naturalism. There are those who wrongly attribute these faults to an over-anxiety on the part of the Directors to build up, behind a crumbling English façade, the young virile material of a theatre in the Irish language. The view is superficial. Even in Lady Gregory's time it was evident that naturalism was beginning to take its toll of each of the three A's. And a theatre in the Irish language will be nothing more than a pious hope until such an institution is, first of all, *theatrically* a theatre ; and secondly until each of the three A's has reached that much-to-be-desired consummation of having acquired Irish as a home-language. It should be noted that even when this consummation has been reached, the Irish theatre likely to arise from the example of an out-worn naturalism will hardly be a theatre to be proud of ; naturalism in any language is naturalism still.

Edwards–MacLiammóir brought something into our theatrical life which that life sorely needed. It is interesting to speculate how clearly Lady Gregory may have perceived the fact on that November evening nineteen years ago when she declared herself to be far more in sympathy with the new departure than with what was going on at the Abbey next door. Apart from the breath of European influence which these two men absorbed through their own intensely theatrical personalities and translated into a tradition which brought vision and design to a peak never attained before in the English-speaking theatre, they were capable, with assistance from the people of this country, of establishing an institution which might have far exceeded in reputation the theatre founded by Lady Gregory and W. B. Yeats. Had these two lived that assistance might have been forthcoming.

GABRIEL FALLON

COUNSELLOR TERENCE Mac DONAGH

A GREAT CATHOLIC LAWYER OF THE PENAL DAYS

BY J. C. MAC DONAGH

MAC DONAGH'S home was described by an eighteenth-century writer as " Creevagh, the seat of Counsellor Terence Mac Donagh . . . a seminary for the bards of Ireland," while he himself is still remembered in County Sligo traditional lore as " the great Counsellor". From records still extant we hope to establish that this eminent Catholic barrister was also a soldier and a poet. He was known to his friends as Turlogh og in order to distinguish him from his father, whom they called Turlogh of Creevagh. Their marriage alliances link the Gaelic period of the late sixteenth century with the beginnings of modern Ireland ; for the " great Counsellor's " mother was Mary, daughter of the Sligo sheriff poet, Tadg og O Huiginn, and granddaughter of Tadg Dall of the Satires ; while his wife was Mary O'Rorke, grandniece of Brian-na-Murtha— " the proudest man in Europe". Counsellor Mac Donagh himself was the head of one of the Sligo Mac Donagh septs which took its name from Cormac Ballagh Mac Donnchadha, whose obit is given by Mac Firbisigh in his Annals for the year 1463 . . . "the only man of his rank that most merited and got note and fame and that had the best insight and knowledge in all the arts, greatest goodness and familie and was best warrior and preyer against his enemies in Upper Connacht ; died after receiving Extreme Unction and had done Penance. God rest his Soule." Roderick O'Flaherty (R.I.A/D.1.3) has recorded the Counsellor's pedigree :— " Turlogh og and Cormac Ballagh[1] the sons of Turlogh the son of Hugh the son of Maurice the son of Owen the son of Cormack Ballagh."

Turlogh of Creevagh, the Counsellor's father, was one of the few Mac Donaghs who still retained portion of their former lands after the so-called re-grants of James I. During the years 1633–1636 he figured largely in Strafford Survey of landowners in Co. Sligo,[2] particularly in the parish of Kilmactranny. In the Corporation Books for the City of Galway his name is associated with his brother-in-law, Paul O Huiginn, as a Baronial Collector for Co. Sligo during the years 1654–1656.

[1] Grand Jury Sligo 1714. Cormac Ballagh Mac Donagh was one of the principal Catholics of the county who were summoned " and refused to take the Oath". A much worn tombstone in Ballindoon Abbey has the following inscription : " Pray for ye soule of Cormac Ballagh Mac Donagh and his wife Elinor Mac Dermot Roe who caused this stone to be made Anno Domino 1719." The stone is badly defaced and lies near the Gospel side of the High Altar.

[2] From internal evidence I am convinced that this Ms. Harl. 2048 (British Museum) is a copy of the original Strafford Survey which was lost in the Four Courts' fire of 1711. It is a thick volume of 47 tracts, most of which relate to Ireland in the reign of Charles I. Tracts Nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 and 45 cover the lands of County Sligo. Tract No. 43 (36 pp.) deals with Co. Roscommon ; Tract No. 44 (22 pp.) covers Co. Mayo ; and Tract No. 46 is

Counsellor Mac Donagh made his first appearance in Public Records when the Act of Settlement described him as a Lieutenant who had served in the King's army overseas. Unlike many others of his kind he eventually obtained a grant of lands in lieu of those lost by his father under the Commonwealth. The lands thus granted were those of Carrowkeel, Lisherbert, and Listrustan in the Barony of Gallen, Co. Mayo, and they remained in the hands of his collateral descendants down to recent times. Creevagh and the lands around his old home had been given to a Cromwellian named Yeaden, who settled at Boyle and who made no attempt to dispossess the Mac Donaghs, although they were ordered to transplant themselves in the years 1656–57. Many years later Mac Donagh managed to purchase Yeaden's interest in the Creevagh lands, and the descendants of his heirs continued to hold them as freehold down to the year 1890.

On his return to Ireland in 1660 Mac Donagh adopted the legal profession; and one of the first cases which he defended gained him the sobriquet "Turlogh Caech," by which he was often known in later life. Two youths were fishing in the flooded Owenhagark; one of them fell in and was in grave danger of being drowned until the other fished him safely to the bank by hooking him in the eye. Then followed an action for damages between the respective parents in which Mac Donagh was brieted for the defence. Tradition still retains one of his Solomonian remarks: "My clients are willing to pay the damages claimed if the lad is put into the river again and can reach its banks safely by his own efforts." It caused the collapse of the case against Mac Donagh's clients and, according to the story, he himself became known as "the blind Mac Donagh".

His best remembered case is that in which he succeeded in rescuing and restoring part of their confiscated estates to the O Conor Don family of Ballinagare. This case was tried during the reign of Queen Anne and was the result of a Protestant Bill of Discovery which had been filed by French of Frenchpark. "But," says John O'Donovan, "Mac Donagh managed to reply so ably and being supported by the interests of Lords Taaffe and Kingsland, finally succeeded in restoring Donogh O'Conor to about seven hundred acres, which descended to his son Charles O'Conor,

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entitled "A Booke of euerie man, his particular Estate of Lands in the Barrony of Clanwilliam, contayninge 12 myles in Length and 6 Myles in Breadth" (21 pp.). The County Sligo portions of this Survey are recorded in great detail, parish by parish, opening with the manner in which the tithe was held, the name of the then incumbent, and the extent and names of the quarters claimed by the Church. Then follows an individual survey of each quarter of land in the parish, giving, in most cases, its sub-denominations, the nature of the soil, its situation and capabilities, whether wooded or not, the name of the proprietor and very often an abstract of his title, the names of his leasee, mortgagee, or principal tenants and the duties exacted from them; while castles, mills, fishing weirs, etc. and their yearly value noted with great exactitude.

See "Harl. Mss. Report" Vols. I–IV. Thomas H. Hone. Published 1808. Ref. Nat. Lib. of Ireland. 091042 b 19.

the Historian." In a note to this quotation O'Donovan goes on to tell that Mac Donagh " was the only Catholic Counsel that was admitted to the Irish Bar after the violation of the conditions of Limerick "—and, he adds, " this Terence . . . is traditionally called in the country ' the great Counsellor Mac Donagh '."

The Rev. Charles O'Conor Don, S.J. (*Studies* March 1934), dealing with his ancestors' benefactor, elaborated on O'Donovan's remarks by quoting a tradition recorded by Daniel Malone in his tour of Connacht about the year 1827. " Turlogh Mac Donagh was a celebrated lawyer, and the only Roman Catholic lawyer who was allowed to plead at the Bar in his day (which privilege he received through the influence of Lord Taffe and Lord Kingsland)." Father O'Conor Don says that this helps to clear up an obscure reason why a solitary Catholic lawyer was allowed to follow his profession ; but, as if still in doubt, he queries how it came about that Mac Donagh, who was so rash during the Williamite Wars, *managed to obtain this privilege after the violation of the Treaty of Limerick?* A brief survey of Mac Donagh's military activities and of the events which followed them will throw light on this question.

On the opening of the Williamite Wars Terence Mac Donagh *abandoned his profession*, and we find him holding the rank of Captain in Dillon's Regiment with his kinsmen Tadg and Conor Mac Donagh, both of Ballindoon, as Lieutenant and Ensign of his Company. Early in the year 1689 he was given command of the garrison of Ballymote Castle, and for the greater portion of the next two years he and his men kept the standard of James II flying from its battlements. In the harvest of that year he was one of those in command of some Connachtmen who rashly made an irruption into Ulster. They were no match for the well-armed Enniskilleners under Hamilton, who suddenly attacked them while encamped near Ballyshannon. Hamilton later wrote in his " Actions " : " All their foot fled away towards Sligo, except a few who were taken in the Fish Island near the town, with their Captain, one Mac Donagh, *a Counsellor-at-Law*, commonly known by the name of ' blind Mac Donagh '." Soon afterwards Mac Donagh was exchanged for some Williamite prisoners taken by Colonel Patrick Sarsfield, who was then at Manorhamilton.

In that same year Mac Donagh was elected to represent the Borough of Sligo in the Parliament convened by King James at Dublin, having already been appointed a burgess of that town under the new Charter given it by the King in 1687. The " *Memoir of the life and writings of Charles O'Connor* " describes Mac Donagh in that fateful house : " In Parliament he opposed the arbitrary measures of James the Second with the same spirit with which he opposed what he considered the invasion of a Usurper ; and when undue influence was being used by the Court Party to prevent the enacting of those liberal laws which were passed in

the Roman Catholic Parliament of 1689, he laid his hand on the hilt of his sword in the Lobby of the House, declaring in the presence of Lord Tyrconnel that, while he could unsheath a sword, it would be in defence of the rights and privileges of an Irish Parliament."

On his return to his command at Ballymote Castle, Mac Donagh resumed his military activities in almost daily skirmishes with the Cootes, Coopers and Kings who then held Collooney Castle for William III. Mackenzie mentions a " relation sent by Lord Kingston " which gives a Williamite version : " About five (sic) of our horse, commanded by Captain Cooper, went to view what the Irish were doing at Ballymote, then garrisoned by a Company of Foot under the command of Captain Terence Mac Donagh. He drew them up to face our men ; but they, firing on them and with the shot of a blunderbus killing one and wounding five more, the Irish threw down their arms and run to the Castle, our men pursuing them and beating them to the draw-bridge."

In the history of the Williamite Wars, events at Sligo and Boyle rank as major operations and names such as Sarsfield, O'Regan, Luttrell, Conyngham and Lloyd are associated with the area in which these towns lie. Both towns were lost and won by each side—twice during the campaign —and Mac Donagh's company, like the rest of Dillon's regiment, shared in those victories and defeats. From the time that Sir Teige O'Regan, the heroic defender of Charlemont, succeeded the traitorous Luttrell as military governor of Sligo, in June 1690, that town remained steadfast to King James till September 1691.

As the war neared its dramatic end, Lord Granard was dispatched by Schomberg to assist Mitchelburn in bringing Sligo and North Connacht under Williamite control. It was at this point, too, that Balldearg O'Donnell (and many of the five thousand rabble who had flocked to his standard under the spell of a so-called prophecy that a red birth-marked man would free Ireland) appeared on the scene. He was at this time a mere mercenary in the Williamite camp and was employed by Lord Granard to reduce the castle of Ballymote, which was still held by his former allies. O'Donnell threatened to turn his cannon on the place, and its governor (one of the O'Conor Sligo family) seeing that its defence was hopeless, surrendered the castle on condition that he and his men were allowed to rejoin their comrades under Mac Donagh, who was then stationed at Sligo as a Lieutenant Colonel under Sir Teige O'Regan.

The Williamites were then free to close in on Sligo, which they did. Mitchelburn came from the North, while Lord Granard and the local Williamites under the Wynnes, the Coopers and the Kings of Boyle advanced on the town from the south and east. For a time the Jacobites grimly held the town, as well as the old castle of the O'Conors Sligo, which occupied the site of the present Town Hall. Eventually they were forced to vacate both these places and to fall back on the Green Fort,

overlooking the river and Loch Gill. There the Irish fiercely resisted many bloody assaults made by Mitchelburn's troops. Mitchelburn himself did his utmost to avoid this and, with great humanity, in the end succeeded in prevailing on the cornered Jacobites to agree to a parley, so as to prevent further bloodshed. The following is O'Regan's reply to one of the Williamite general's notes: "Sir, I am so well assured of your worth and honour that I will send out three field officers, Colonel O'Rorke, Major Connor and Lt. Col. Mac Donagh, without demanding any hostages; so appoint three commissioners for yourself and agree what place you shall think fit to treat in."

Some days then elapsed, interspersed with skirmishes, misunderstandings, truces and parleys, until O'Regan and his officers saw that Lord Granard and his forces had reached the town. Only then did they agree to the very honourable terms offered by Mitchelburn, which permitted them to march with all the honours of war to Limerick, the last refuge of the Jacobites. While on the march there that city capitulated, but one of the military articles in its treaty protected Mac Donagh and his comrades: "Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish Army shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convoy them up, to bring them hither to Limerick by the shortest way."

Terence Mac Donagh, as an Irish officer and a native of Sligo, was protected by two clauses in the Treaty of Limerick; for, in the preamble to the Civil Articles, County Sligo was one of the places specifically mentioned as protected from reprisals. Being a lawyer Mac Donagh was able to exploit these articles, and he returned home to Creevagh, notwithstanding that he was outlawed by the King's Bench in 1691.

"Henry Crofton of Sligo Armigero
Terence Mac Donagh do. do.
John French do. Gentleman" T.C.D. Mss. 744.

The outlawry of many of his friends and relatives is also recorded in this manuscript: such as Oliver O'Gara of Moygara, Tiernan O'Rorke of Breifney, John James and Andrew Mac Donagh of Ballindoon, all of whom went into exile and shed their blood on the battlefields of Europe. Others like John O'Gara of Cloonoghill, having lost all their worldly possessions, took to the roads of Ireland as itinerant bards and musicians.

The following, taken from a contemporary State Paper, may help to explain Mac Donagh's return to the Irish Bar and his profession as a lawyer:—

"Proceedings upon the petition of Edward Sherlock, Edward Hammond, Nicholas Rice, Darby Long, John Grady, *Terence Mac Donagh*, John Delamar, Michael Hickey and Arthur Keefe, Esquires:—

"Shows that, by the Articles of Limerick, all persons comprised in the same articles, of what profession or calling soever they be, are freely to exercise and practice their profession or calling; that by an Act of Parliament in England

abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy in Ireland and appointing other oaths, it is provided, in pursuance of the said Article, that the said Act should not disable any person, with the qualifications mentioned in the said proviso, from practicing their profession of Barristers-at-Law, provided such barrister shall make out his claim according his qualifications expressed in the said proviso before the Clerk of the King's Bench in Ireland, on or before the last day of the Michaelmas term next. The petitioners, being barristers and entitled to the said articles, have exhibited their respective claims in the Court of the King's Bench in Ireland, but some doubts have arisen from the Justices of that Court, because petitioners have only practiced their profession since the death of King Charles the Second, and their Majesties' Council being the proper judges of the sense and meaning of the said Articles, they pray that it be signified to the Justices of the King's Bench in Ireland, that notwithstanding said doubt, they may be admitted to the practice of their profession." (The petition bears an endorsement which reads: "Referred to the Lord Justice of the King's Bench."—*Domestic State Papers*).

At this time Mac Donagh was in residence on his Mayo property at Ballygarvey, and for the rest of his life he gave this as his official address to the authorities at Dublin Castle. Creevagh, however, remained his home, and it was there he entertained his friends and sheltered those of them in need of succour. This was typical of the lives led by the Catholic gentry in the hidden Ireland of the eighteenth century.

Towards the end of 1692 Mac Donagh was again in trouble with the Castle authorities, for the State Papers show that another French invasion was feared and, as a precautionary measure of safety, many former Irish officers were arrested. The list is dated the 17 December 1692 and contained many interesting names:

A List of such Roman Catholic officers as have been taken up by virtue of the General Order:—

Capt. Garret Moore	Col. John Browne	*Lt. Col. Terence Mac Donagh*
Capt. Josias Bourke	Capt. Thomas Bourke	
Capt. John Garvey	Capt. Anthony Garvey	Capt. Walter Browne
Capt. William Brabazon	Capt. Miles Fitzmorris	Capt. John Moore
Capt. Owen Gallagher	Capt. John Browne	Cornet John Fitzmorris
Capt. Terence Mc Donnell	Capt. James Mc Donnell	Capt. Owen O'Malley
Capt. Domnick Browne	Capt. P. Lynch	Capt. Francis D'Darcy
Capt. Jasper French	Lt. Edmund Fitzmorris	Lt. Francis Garvey
Lieut. O'Hara	Cornet John Sweeney	Cornet Henry Dillon
Capt. Farragh Mc Donnell	and five priests	

All of the County Mayo.

Colonel Lord Dillon	Colonel Thomas Dillon	Lt. Col. Theobald Dillon
Lieut. Christopher Dillon	Capt. Andrew O'Connor	Capt. Brian O'Connor
Capt. James Plunkett	and five priests	

All of the County Roscommon.

Mac Donagh and his comrades were released when the danger of invasion appeared to have passed, and some months later he again pressed his claims for justice before the officials of the Crown. The "Halliday Collection of Sir C. Wyche's MSS." in the Irish Public Record Office mentions him amongst the claimants to be heard under the adjudications

of the Articles of Limerick on the 3 December 1694 and describe him as " Lieut Col. Terence Mac Donagh of Ballygarvey, County Mayo". His name occurs in a similar document (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*) dated 6 December 1694, and from both of these sources we have been able to make a list of some of the scions of the old Connacht gentry who were then grimly fighting for their existence against the forces of bigotry in an arena miscalled the Irish Courts of Justice :—Andrew and Julia Crean of Knock, Co. Galway ; William Crean of Brockins, Co. Mayo ; Capt. Donogh O Connor Sligo of Carrownedane, Co. Mayo ; Coll. Martin O Connor Sligo of same ; Jordan Fitz Jordan ; Andrew O Donnell ; Capt. Charles Costello of Tullaghan, Co. Mayo ; Thomas O'Connor of Co. Roscommon.

On the 24 November 1698 Mac Donagh wrote to Kean O'Hara of Annaghmore, one of the most influential Connacht Protestants, who was then interested in saving the transplanted O'Donnells of Connacht from utter extinction : " Let me have word (of) Coll. O'Donnell and the rest that claim the articles of Limerick . . . the Court of Claims does nothing but adjourn from day to day."[1]

Not long ago we unearthed an interesting bundle of legal documents (wills, leases, and rentals), and many of these bore the " great Counsellor's" signature in one capacity or another. They testify and confirm the apt description of Mac Donagh's professional ability given by Father O'Conor Don . . "for the rest of his active life Mac Donagh was the legal champion of the Irish Catholic cause, his clients being chiefly the old Irish gentry, who were struggling to maintain their hold on the lands of their fathers, and those Irish ecclesiastics who were menaced by the rigours of the Penal Laws. Amongst the former the O'Conor and O'Rorke families are most conspicuous ; amongst the later the Friars of Sligo are specially named."

We hold a copy of the manuscript " Memoirs of Father Patrick Mac Donagh " written at Bilbao circa 1704, and it contains a very detailed description of the disabilities which confronted Counsellor Mac Donagh's efforts to obtain justice for the persecuted. It reveals that even well connected Catholics of the period often acted like jackals with the lands and property entrusted to them by the hunted religious orders. One such villain was a relative of the Bishop of Clonfert, and every effort made by Terence Mac Donagh, to obtain for the Dominican Fathers of Sligo their legal revenues and estates, was defeated by this deceitful trustee. This is presumably the case to which Father O'Conor Don refers.

It was to this period in Mac Donagh's life that Dr. O'Rorke (*History of Sligo*) referred when he wrote: "Mac Donagh was noted for his open-handedness as much as for his rare abilities, and the large sums he received in the practice of his profession were employed in relieving the distress

[1] (Annaghmore Mss. O'Hara collection, Co. Sligo).

of his neighbours, as well priests as people. Nor were his benefactions confined to County Sligo ; for we learn from Hely's preface to O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* that ' Counsellor Terence Mac Donagh of Creevagh was the best friend and patron of Roderick O'Flaherty at a time when that learned man was shamefully neglected by the rest of his countrymen '." It is painful to record that the aged and poverty-stricken O'Flaherty, who survived his patron by several years, died in utter want, at Moycullen, in the midst of the vast estates which had been snatched from him by Cromwell. History does not record if this fine old scholar was spared the anguish of knowing that his son-in-law, the infamous priest-hunter and bigamist Edward Tyrrel, was one of the Castle spies who had tried, on more than one occasion, to ruin Terence Mac Donagh's professional career.

The O'Conor Don family give credit to Terence Mac Donagh for rescuing their ancestor, Donnchadh Liath O'Conor, from obscurity. In the tide of confiscation the branch to which this young man belonged was swept from their lands in Roscommon ; but by good fortune this descendant of the last kings of Ireland was found by Mac Donagh at Knockmore in the Creevagh neighbourhood. There he found O'Conor leading the life of a husbandman, ploughing his fields and tending the few livestock which were all his worldly possessions. This young man was so prematurely aged that he carried the sobriquet " liath " or grey-haired. Mac Donagh took up his case and, although he encountered stiff opposition from a " Discoverer " in the person of French of French-park, he eventually confirmed his protege's title and restored him to some seven hundred acres of land at Ballinagare. Mac Donagh did not live to see the full fruits of this triumph ; for it was not till the year 1723 that O'Conor entered into possession of his estate by moving the family from Knockmore to Ballinagare.

The bonds of friendship between Mac Donagh and O'Conor were further cemented when the Counsellor arranged a marriage between O'Conor and his wife's niece, Mary O'Rorke. It must have been a great source of pleasure to the older man when his niece bore a son and heir to O'Conor in the year 1709. That son was destined to become one of the finest and most cultured Irish Catholic gentlemen of his age, Charles O'Conor of Ballingare, historian and pioneer of Catholic Emancipation. In reading over the manuscripts and published works of this great man the pride with which he sought to reflect the lustre shed upon himself by his maternal as well as his paternal ancestors, is fully and justly apparent.

Mary O'Rorke was the daughter of Colonel Tiernan O'Rorke, one of the Wild Geese who followed King James into exile. He was killed at the Battle of Luzzara in 1702. Mary O'Rorke's mother was Isobel Mac Donagh a daughter of Captain Brian Mac Donagh, who was in turn the grandson of the last Mac Donagh Tirerril of Ballindoon Castle.

Isabella Mac Donagh, better known as the Countess O'Rorke, was a lady-in-waiting at the Court of St. Germain for several years after her husband's death. She returned to Ireland about the year 1734[1] and lived with the O'Conors at Ballinagare till her death in 1760. Her portrait in oils is now amongst the O'Conor Don pictures at Clonalis. Tiernan O'Rorke, her husband, was the son of Captain Brian Ballagh O'Rorke of the Confederate Wars and grandson of Tiernan the brother of Brian na Murtha whom the English treacherously hanged at Tyburn. Such was the background which Terence Mac Donagh illuminated when he took home his little Franco-Irish niece to become the wife of his young friend Donnchadha Liath O'Conor.

Mac Donagh's home at Creevagh was also a sanctuary for the hunted Catholic clergy of the early Penal Days. One of them was his brother-in-law, Tadg O'Rorke, Bishop of Killala, a Franciscan of the Convent of Meelick who had been educated abroad. Father O'Conor Don (*Studies* March 1934) tells that Bishop O'Rorke spent some time at the Imperial Court in Vienna where he attracted the notice of Prince Eugene, " under whom his father, Captain Tiernan O'Rorke, had served". It must, however, be recorded that the Captain was not his father but his brother, as is clearly shown by the late Father Paul Walsh (*I.E.R.* 1940). Dr. Renehan (*Collections*) quotes a petition from James III, dated St. Germain 2 October 1703, in which the King requested the Pope to appoint Father O'Rorke to the See of Killala. This selection was not confirmed until February 1707, and Father O'Conor Don tells how the Bishop Elect carried letters of recommendation from the Emperor to Queen Anne and that he was actually granted the favour of an audience with Her Majesty on his passing through London. He does not tell, however, that Bishop O'Rorke's consecration was actually performed in Newgate Prison Dublin by Most Reverend Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Killaloe, who was then imprisoned there.

Austrian letters of recommendation were of little avail to a bishop or friar who was unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of an early eighteenth-century magistrate in Connacht. The Bishop, nevertheless, continued his journey and took over his See during one of the worst phases of the Penal Days. These were the days when act upon act " to prevent the further growth of Popery " sullied the Statute Books of the Parliaments of Dublin and Westminster. It was the period of greatest activity for the priest-hunter, spy, informer and blood-thirsty magistrate. They were the days which saw cultured men like Bishop O'Rorke hunted down like wolves and criminals. Tadg O'Rorke was one of the fortunate ones ; for he found a hospitable Catholic home waiting for him at Creevagh, and this was to be his " locus refugii " whence he sent forth his pastorals with words of consolation to his afflicted flock.

[1] Her return to Ireland is the subject of one of the O Cuirnin poems contributed to *Eigse* Vol. IV by Colm O Lochlainn.

Before long an infamous priest-hunter gave notice to the Castle authorities that Doctor O Rorke had taken over his See. It was ironic that the spy should have been Edward Tyrrel, erstwhile son-in-law of old Roderick O Flaherty, and had the Bishop been captured at Creevagh the great old scholar's patron, Terence Mac Donagh, would have been ruined. Fortunately there was a time lag after the 6 March 1711–12 when Tyrrel stated before the Court of Queen's Bench . . . " that about the time the Pretender was to land in Scotland . . . one *Rourke, who is brother-in-law to Counsellor Mac Donagh and who lives in his house* . . . and one Owen Mac Dermott were both made bishops at the same time." A year later the Protestant Bishop of Tuam sent the following to Dublin Castle : " Timothy Rorke, formerly a Franciscan friar of the Convent of Meelick, near Banahir in the County Galway, now Titular Bishop of Killala and going under the name of Mr. Fielding. His chief residence, when he travels to the Counties of Mayo and Sligo to officiate in these parts, is at Counsellor Terence Mac Donagh, whose wife is this man's relative."

In addition to this system of spying, it was about this time that the Castle authorities adopted a type of *Third Degree* method on well-known Catholics. Under it a victim was taken into custody and examined on oath regarding his knowledge of the Catholic clergy, their abodes and the last place where the deponent had heard Mass. The system quickly proved to be a failure ; for the information thus obtained was either so much out-of-date or so vague that it was of little use to the priest-hunters. Thus, Bishop O Rorke's name was mentioned quite frequently in these depositions. One of them, extracted from Tadg Mac Donagh of Loch Bo (a short distance from Creevagh), says : " *He did see* one Rorke, *whom he hears* is Titular Bishop of Killala." Another deponent gave the exasperating information that he saw the Bishop walking on the roads of Corran (a barony in Co. Sligo which even then contained hundreds of miles of roads), while a third deponent told that he saw him at one of the largest funerals ever held in Co. Sligo, that of John Conmee,[1] the antiquary and scholar who lived at Heapstown in that county. Notwithstanding all the efforts made to capture him, Bishop O Rorke remained a free man throughout his episcopate and it goes to show the powerful influence, wielded in the hidden Ireland of these years, by his relatives and friends. When Terence Mac Donagh died in 1713, the Bishop made his chief abode with the O'Conors—first at Knockmore, a few miles from Creevagh, and afterwards with them when they moved to Ballinagare.

In addition to being proclaimed by priest-hunters as one who sheltered outlawed clergy, Mac Donagh was suspected by Dublin Castle as one of the chief Jacobites in Ireland. While he lived, foreign agents and

[1] An ancestor of the late Father John Conmee, S.J.—one-time Rector of Clongowes and Provincial of the Irish Jesuits.

See also Hennessy's Introduction " Annals of Loch Ce". The Conmee family vault is in Kilmactranny churchyard.

government spies appear to have played hide-and-seek around Creevagh. The following extract portrays this activity and shows the alertness of the authorities when danger was imminent. It is taken from a Memorial addressed by a Sligo-born Dominican, Father Ambrose O Connor, to the Jacobite Queen Mary and was for the information of her party in France:

I arrived [says Father O'Connor] in Ireland on the 7th May this year (1708). I learned, on landing, that an order had been issued to arrest the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy throughout the kingdom . . . I went to visit the principal people in Connacht; they were Lords Clanrickard, Dillon, Buffin, Riverston, the Chevalier Ulick Burke and *Lieutenant-Colonel Terence Mac Donagh.* Lords Clanrickard and Buffin were ill in bed; therefore I could not see them. I spoke to Lord Riverston, who assured me that nobody was more attached to the interest of the King [James III] than himself. From thence I went in search of Lord Dillon and was informed that he was under arrest in Dublin, as was also Colonel Terence Mac Donagh. From Connacht I set out for Dublin . . . I met Lords Fingal, Dillon, Trimbleston and Colonel Terence Mac Donagh. After having revealed to them the object of my visit, they assured me that the King need not doubt their fidelity . . . but that the King could not be ignorant that they wanted arms and other necessities and a sufficient number of men to help the cause . . . If His Majesty would send a small supply of troops with arms and amunition, they could raise a considerable number amongst themselves to assist the cause, not having for many years so many fine young men fit to bear arms; and that all the old Irish families were ready, throughout the kingdom, to hazard their lives in the services of the King . . . It is to be remarked that all *the nobility and gentry, to whom I spoke, expressed great surprise that the King had not dispatched some confidential messenger to inform them of his meditated descent on Scotland* . . . the best counties to effect a landing are Clare and Galway . . . Galway has a fine port in which a fleet might anchor, and in the town are great stores of wines and other provisions from France and Spain; while the adjacent counties of Mayo, Sligo and Roscommon would supply them abundantly with sheep and oxen . . .

Such was the information which Father O'Connor, the bishop-designate of Ardagh, gave to the Jacobites in France. From its contents we find that Mac Donagh was imprisoned on at least two occasions as a precautionary measure against the fear of a Jacobite invasion from France. In view of the contents of Father O'Connor's dispatch these fears were not unfounded, and it leaves no doubt that the remnants of the Catholic gentry would have had another throw if the Jacobites on the continent gave them sufficient aid and arms.

It is reflected in the following proclamation (preserved amongst the O'Hara MSS. at Annaghmore), which was a sequel to a dispute between Mac Donagh's tenants and Wingfield's bailiff for the townland of Coolerecoill. This townland had been the home of Mac Donagh's ancestors, Tadg og and Tadg Dall O Huiginn, and was a part of their property which he had striven, in vain, to recover from the Wingfields.

To the High & Petty Constables of ye Co. Sligo

June 3 1699

Whereas I have received information upon oath yt Collonell Terence Mac Donagh, an Irish Papist, did with sword and pistols on ye 24th May last, with several

other papists in his company, come to ye house of Dennis Mac Sharry att Coolerecoill in sd county and did then and there beate and assault the sd Mac Sharry with his caine or cudgell, three or four times and at ye same time layed his hand to his pistol and threatened to draw ye same. Sd Dennis Mac Sloshire (sic) was forced to retire to a house for feare of being murthered and is still in feare of his life. In his Majesty's name I require you to apprehend the body of the sd Terence Mac Donagh and to give security.

Edward Wingfield

One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for sd County.

The outcome of this affair was that Mac Donagh lost his right to carry arms. He won back this concession in 1705, when Owen O'Malley of Borrishool and himself were the only two members of the old Gaelic and Catholic families in Connacht licensed to carry a sword, a pistol or a gun. He lost the privilege again by his arrest in 1708, and it was not restored until 1714; but by that time the mortal remains of " the great Counsellor " were nearly a year at rest in the old abbey of Ballindoon on the shores of Loch Arrow.

A legal document, recently come to light, tells that Terence Mac Donagh died in the month of May 1713. A proposed inscription for his tombstone has been printed by Dr. Tomas O Raghallaigh in *Fili agus Filidheacht Chonnacht*, and this same work also contains a lament for Mac Donagh by John O'Gara. Carolan also composed a lament, the music of which was first recorded by Neal in 1726. An upright monumental slab, in memory of " the Great Counsellor," may now be seen in the ruined abbey of Ballindoon. After setting forth Mac Donagh's various virtues and stating that the monument had been originally erected by his wife in 1737, the following addition has been inserted : " October 1819, this monument was removed from Ballinagare and erected here by Andrew Mac Donagh of Derna Esq."

J. C. Mac Donagh

JAMES BOSWELL: A PROBLEM*

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ON the sixteenth of May 1763, James Bowell and Dr. Johnson met for the first time. The scene immortalised by Boswell has fixed the attention of subsequent biographers and essayists. It is natural that it should, since it marks the beginning of that friendship from which grew the *Life of Dr. Johnson*. With Johnson, with Boswell, with their association, time has dealt strangely. Testimony is largely interpretation; and interpretation is rooted in the character, mental set and motives of the witness. Conflict, therefore, is inevitable. Hawkins, Boswell, Mrs. Piozzi, Baretti, Fanny Burney do not see an identical Johnson, although the character of the great lexicographer is composed of elements so definite and permanent as to offer a fairly solid ground for judgment. Who then can offer a definitive view of Boswell, that fluid mixture of tendencies, that moving bog of emotions, that chameleon madly changing colour with every mood and background, always seeking among the multitudinous Boswells the essential static being who might claim to be the controlling ego?

In the Johnson-Boswell relationship the Doctor is the more known and explicable element, and this is chiefly, if not entirely, due to that portrait of Johnson given us in the *Life*, which the assiduous Scot built up, stroke by stroke, during long years of observation. Such observation was possible only to one whose hide was thick enough to withstand kicks; whose intrusive nose poked shamelessly into everything; a busy-body, a conniver, an interrogator. Boswell's fate has been rather like that of a spy. The value of his work has not saved him from the contempt accorded to his methods. Even in his *Corsica*, even in the *Life*, Boswell reveals many of the irreconcilable aspects of his nature. He appears to us, in Macaulay's words, " a coxcomb, a bore, weak, vain, pushing, curious and garrulous ". But if he had been merely thus, could Johnson, who detested fools, have suffered him? Johnson not merely suffered him, but loved him. Johnson indeed did not know his friend as a drunkard, a lecher who spent his whole life going downhill. The letters to Temple and the Journal have fully revealed this Boswell. They reveal also his desperate longing for goodness. To those critics who have scoffed at such an apparent contradiction, one might say with Johnson: " Are you so grossly ignorant as not to know that a man may be perfectly sincere in good principles without having good

* *Ursa Major: Study of Dr. Johnson and his Friends.* By C. E. Vulliamy. (Michael Joseph. 1946. 15s.).
The Hooded Hawk or the Case of Mr. Boswell. By D. B. Wyndham Lewis. (Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1946. 12s. 6d.).
Boswell. Spence Watson Memorial Lecture. By Claude C. Abbott. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Literary and Philosophical Society. 1946. 1s.).

practice?" If "every man knows something worse of himself than he is sure of in others," then a Pecksniffian attitude to human frailty must seem distasteful. Boswell's frankness—at best naive, at worst shameless—has delivered him fully into the hands of the hostile. Mr. Wyndham Lewis observes: "A world in which human figures swim grandly to and fro like icebergs, nine-tenths of their real feelings submerged and invisible (or what becomes of the social fabric?), is hardly likely to overlook lapses from the code like Boswell's." Macaulay fulminates: "Everything which another man would have hidden, everything the publication of which would have made another man hang himself, was a matter of gay and clamorous exultation to his weak and diseased mind". But Carlyle replies: "The man, once for all, had an 'open sense,' an open loving heart, which so few have; where Excellence existed, he was compelled to acknowledge it; was drawn towards it and could not but walk with it—if not as a superior, if not as an equal, then as an inferior and lackey; better so than not at all."

These two schools of thought, Boswellite and anti-Boswellite, find recent exponents in Mr. C. E. Vulliamy and Mr. Wyndham Lewis. Mr. Vulliamy's biography of Boswell, published in 1932 by Geoffrey Bles, belongs to the case-book school of criticism. Since this distinguished writer has made up his mind against Boswell, he naturally repeats his opinions in *Ursa Major, a Study of Dr. Johnson and his Friends* which has lately appeared. With these opinions Mr. Wyndham Lewis passionately disagrees, and he presents his own point of view in his biography of Boswell, *The Hooded Hawk*. In effect, Mr. Vulliamy is the psycho-analytic frosting on Macaulay's bitter bread; but Mr. Wyndham Lewis's human kindness does not issue from quite the same fount as Carlyle's. "Carlyle, echoing some of Macaulay's moral wrath, adds with bare justice that Boswell has a heart of gold; though, as Carlyle needs this to bolster up his Strong-Man-as-Hero whimsy, his motive may be deemed a trifle suspect." Mr. Wyndham Lewis has a lance to break for Boswell, but he would be the last to say that Dulcinea del Toboso is the finest lady in the world. He refuses to turn up the whites of the eyes; he refuses to award a halo. He abjures the specious fla-fla of the pontifical Carlyle. He knows that Boswell not only walked with Excellence, but also with the Mephistophelian Wilkes and with as many gay charmers as possible. This insouciant honesty is the foundation of the Wyndham Lewis outlook. To this writer it seems insufficient to consider Boswell as a diseased mind in a self-indulgent body. Boswell himself was quite certain that he also had what modern nescience would deny him—a soul. Leave this out of account and Boswell's fevered confessions and ceaseless sense of guilt appear merely a psychopathic symptom. Boswell may not have had complete mental balance (the same may truthfully be said of a large part of the human race not behind bars), but we cannot suborn his unquiet conscience as a witness that he really had

straws in his hair. No matter with what grotesque insistence he treads the primrose path, his value as a human being was that he knew himself in danger of the everlasting bonfire. To know good from evil is by no means a negligible proof of sanity. When critics ask on what common ground Johnson and Boswell could possibly meet, one may point out that, however much they differed in practice, they shared a perspective that does not end with the grave. Speaking of Johnson's religious beliefs, Mr. Vulliamy says : " Johnson would have been a happier man if he had not been so religious." And again : " He was a man who rarely, if ever, knew the calm of inward happiness. He had the neurotic's typical sense of guilt and inadequacy, which, associated with orthodox adherence to the teaching of the Church, made him fearful of death and apprehensive of hell." Johnson's own explanation of his fear of death may possibly raise it from the level of a neurosis : " The better a man is, the more afraid he is of death, having a clearer view of the infinite purity." Perhaps Mr. Wyndham Lewis is right when he says : " The intelligentsia never know much of the eternal verities."

But whatever the views of Johnson and Boswell in regard to the Four Last Things, it is certain that each feared insanity and was deeply afflicted with a secret melancholia. Boswell was, to some extent, a pathological case, but surely not insane. Mr. Vulliamy, however, will have it that Boswell was suffering from hereditary and incurable insanity—that he was a schizophreniac. And he continues : " Symptoms of megalomania indeed are to be found in all the phases of Boswell, in all the actions of his life and in all his writings. His wretched oscillations, his moral staggering, his total inability to fix himself, were caused by a top-heavy, unsteady load of egoism, a burden of enormous conceit. But this, in its turn, was modified by a partial recognition of his own state. Had it not been for this load of inordinate pride, he would have been blown unresisting into the limbo of pure lunacy. There was nothing that he dreaded more than a forcible reduction of pride. For this reason he tried, by every possible means, to justify his conceit of himself ; for this reason he exploited Johnson, living and dead, with all the resources at his command, and for this reason he composed his grand biography." That Boswell spent his life in a state of " mental disequilibrium " one will not deny ; but, it must be affirmed, so also did Johnson, Swift, Shelley, Blake, Coleridge, Cowper, De Quincy, Lamb and many other writers whom it would be too tedious to enumerate. To discuss the question of genius and madness should be unnecessary and unprofitable. Remove from a history of the arts the eccentrics who have enriched them, and one is left with vast gaps. If Boswell's *Life* is to be explained away as springing only from a disordered ego, then let us adopt a similar attitude to all the other unbalanced authors. Writers may frequently end in a madhouse, but we do not therefore dismiss their works as mere symptoms of insanity. The case-book school of criticism

is a dangerous one. Its principles, if consistently applied, would rapidly depopulate Parnassus and reduce life to the splendid norm of mediocrity.

Let us by all means admit the abnormality of Johnson and of Boswell. Let us bring out of the cupboard the skeletons of Boswell's mad brother and his eccentric daughter Euphemia. What of them? Are we to judge the work of Charles Lamb in the light of Mary Lamb's periodic fits of insanity? Mr. Vulliamy may be right in saying that Boswell drank and drabbed himself to death because he was driven to it by congenital insanity. The point remains that he was not certifiably insane—which is really all that we can say of many of our greatest geniuses. One may well ask how, if Boswell was insane, he succeeded in writing a biography which was a masterpiece—and this during those closing years of his life when, according to Mr. Vulliamy, he had completely gone to pieces and was debarred from decent society. Mr. Wyndham Lewis says: "Strong and upright men, judging a weak, deplorable character, have allowed the sanctions of Greek drama to sway them imperceptibly, I think. For forty years Boswell drinks too much, is too fond of women, is mentally unstable, notoriously given to hypochondria and a relative failure. He should therefore decline into a huddled alcoholic wreck brooding over a wasted life, hopeless, despised, diseased, a warning to all. I was myself tempted, *insanientis dum sapientiae erro*, to accept this appropriate finale until I consulted the Isham documents for a more intimate view of the inevitable deliquescence. Disconcertingly enough, Boswell reveals himself, to the final entry in his diary, as the Boswell we have known all along: gay and gloomy, resolving and backsliding, drunk and sober, occasionally—though very rarely nowadays—slipping into lechery, groping desperately after better things, haunting church and tavern alike, hoping and dreaming; ridden, perhaps, a trifle oftener nowadays by the old black mental nightmare but still able to shake it off; and—which is notable—dining out almost nightly, generally with the kind of hosts who would never have tolerated the Boswell of the legend."

In a most interesting little pamphlet entitled *Boswell*, issued by the Literary and Philosophic Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1946, Professor Claude Colleer Abbott (a Boswellite) describes the manner in which the Boswell archives eventually came to light. Boswell's MSS. came, after his death, into the possession of his family who, dreading publication, allowed it to be thought that the whole mass was immediately destroyed. Of these MSS., the Journal and the Letters to Temple are the most important. Professor Abbott says: "The best pages of the *Life*, masterpiece though it be, are, literally, pages torn from his journal, or amplified, recreated years afterwards from notes for that journal. The emphasis, therefore, is on *My Journal*, kept with varying fullness over a period of thirty-three years." This diary (together with other interesting documents found in Malahide Castle) came into the hands of a wealthy American,

Lieut.-Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham, and was published in a limited and costly edition. Herein are recorded all the details of Boswell's life, both public and private, both objective and subjective. What was Boswell's purpose in keeping this record? He says, six years before his death: "My Journal will afford materials for a very curious narrative"; and again: "My Journal is ready; it is in the larder ,only to be sent to the kitchen, and perhaps trussed and larded." These remarks may refer simply to his own intended use of the Journal in writing the *Life of Dr. Johnson*. On the other hand, did he hope that someone would write his own Life? As a biographer, he knew exactly what material should be needed: "an accumulation of intelligence from various points, by which his character is more fully understood and illustrated. Indeed I cannot conceive a more perfect mode of writing any man's life than not only relating all the most important events of it in their order, but interweaving what he privately wrote and said and thought." No biographer ever had at his disposal such "an accumulation of intelligence" as that left by Boswell. He set down everything, good and bad—and the bad is utterly squalid. Can it be believed that he intended for publication his highly personal outpourings in the Journal and in the Temple Letters? To Boswell, that brazen exhibitionist, all things are possible. Certainly he did not mean the Temple letters to be destroyed. He said to Temple: "Remember to put my letters in a book neatly."

However, as against the theory that Boswell meant his private papers for eventual publication, one must consider that he had no certainty that his Life would ever be written, had no particular person in mind for the task, and did not leave the archives to any possible biographer. Why then did he commit to the Journal the intimate material which was not to be used in the *Life of Dr. Johnson*? All Boswell's writings, both published and unpublished, bear the same stamp. They are merely fragments of that vast accretion of documentary evidence in which Boswell wished to express his own life. ("I own I am desirous that my life should tell"). Every moment, every perception, every impulse, feeling, action, idea—the whole current of life—he had a passionate instinct that every drop should be preserved. What are the discrepancies in thought and aim, the thousand conflicting moods and facets but a stream of consciousness almost unintelligible in the unresolved mass, needing only selection and emphasis to give us a number of well-authenticated and separate Boswells—each quite convincing so long as we remain unacquainted with the other Boswells? Boswell's documentation of his own life gives us the raw material which artistic creativeness may winnow, interpret and synthesise. There is scarcely any way of looking at life for which we may not delve into the Boswellian mine. He is Peer Gynt peeling the onion of self, skin by skin; and in the end what remains? Is there any core, or is the very essence of being the tightly packed integuments of separate vital tissue,

all integrated, all capable of growth? What many of Boswell's critics—both pro and contra—do not seem to have taken into account is that in placing emphasis, in selecting, they ignore a part of the material, or give it so little stress that we are presented with something less than the whole Boswell. Is it really impossible that any human being could be all that variety of creatures that we find in Boswell? Though Mr. Vulliamy has decided in favour of insanity, he turns aside for a moment to envisage another explanation which seems to be the true one: "[Boswell] does not exist in separation from a social context. He is a Boswell plus a something else, a something exterior with which he immediately reciprocates. He is not so much a person as a term in a series of relations, a phase in a train of connected ideas. He escapes from a precise definition of identity. This is the ordinary state of the artist, a state of intense and even painful reciprocity, and it is here, if I am not mistaken, that the elements of an artist are discernible in Boswell. This, at least, is a tenable theory, and it has the advantage of admitting all the silliness, all the uncontrolled egoism, all the weakness and all the fatuity of Boswell; for these are qualities that are more frequently displayed in the artist than in any other type of eccentric."

Writing to Walpole about the *Account of Corsica*, Gray said: "Any fool may write a most valuable book by chance, if he will only tell us what he heard and saw with veracity." This judgment Macaulay repeated in regard to the *Life of Dr. Johnson*. Professor Abbott says: "Fools are as common as blackberries. Why are such fools so rare?" It is a question too infrequently put. There still exists a sort of tradition by which it is accepted that, by mere reporting, Boswell wrote a great book. But Boswell was no mere reporter. Even his powers of observation are not ordinary. He achieves something approaching sympathetic identity with the object. Professor Abbott rightly says: "He has the same absorption in the human scene as Keats in the sparrow that comes before his window—'I take part in its existence and pick about the gravel.' . . . The workings of the human mind have for him an appeasable fascination . . . Every cranny in life interests him profoundly." It would be easy to indicate many passages in the *Life* in which Boswell is not merely the artist, but the conscious artist. An excellent example is the famous occasion when Boswell brings together, for dinner at Dilly's, Johnson and that suave and brilliant scoundrel Wilkes, whom Johnson heartily detested. Since this episode as it stands in the *Life* was created from rough notes made twelve years before, one may realise here Boswell's method—his power of re-living vividly not merely the event in all its aspects, but the peculiar aroma of each personality, the texture of feeling. He gives us Johnson surly and suspicious of the wicked and sophisticated Wilkes, and Wilkes laughing in his sleeve at the intransigent and provincial Johnson. With subtle humour Boswell shows us Wilkes beguiling Johnson out of his brooding

sulks. Mr. Vulliamy seems to think that Boswell had no sense of humour. Boswell had a very nice sense of humour (although, like many of us, he could not exert it upon himself). To choose one of many instances, let us recall the delightful idiocy of the violent altercation between Johnson and Beauclerk. Boswell solemnly recounts it with his tongue in his cheek. One Mr. Hackman, in a violent fit of love, has shot Miss Ray, the favourite of a nobleman. Johnson argues that, since Hackman had two pistols, it was a proof that he meant to shoot two persons. Beauclerk strongly opposes with the view that a wise man, who intends self-slaughter, must always arm himself doubly so that he may be sure of making his quietus. There is, after all, the case of Lord ——'s cook, who only used one pistol and lived for ten days in great agony. Then there is the case of Mr. —— who loved buttered muffins, but durst not eat them as they disagreed with him. When Mr. —— resolved to shoot himself, he first ate three buttered muffins and then fired the fatal shot before indigestion had time to overtake him. It is an anecdote that would have warmed the cockles of Sam Weller's heart.

Boswell was often obtuse, and yet one finds in him also a strange power of suggesting in dialogue a complexity of feeling and of implications. When Johnson, old and sick, is revisiting Oxford with Boswell, he falls into a reverie, turning over in his mind memories of bygone companions. There was Phil Jones, who loved beer (he never got very far in the Church) ; and Fludyer, who used to play draughts with the young Sam Johnson and who turned out a scoundrel. The young Sam Johnson—ragged, uncouth, aggressive, suffering—haunts this scene. In the few lines of speech preserved by Boswell there is a mixture of sadness and absurdity, a sense of lives hard-driven or aimless, and the sand falling in the glass like clay on a coffin lid.

It is clear that any consideration of Boswell bristles with questions. Perhaps it is better so. Argument, like flint and tinder, strikes forth fresh light. Fool or artist, tawdry or aspiring, opportunist or sincere friend? Again and again the battalions are deployed and the battle rages on the debatable ground. In a short space one can merely touch some of the main difficulties. One can no more simplify, or resolve, the problems to be found in Boswell than could Boswell himself. " Every man," says Johnson, " is to take existence on the terms on which it is given to him." One would say that it was given to Boswell on strange and very difficult terms. One thing, at least, is certain : that Boswell cannot die. He had a sure sense of what was to be his security both in life and in literature, his escape from that " wretched changefulness " which was his bane: " It was most comfortable to me to experience in Dr. Johnson's company a relief from this uneasiness." In Dr. Johnson's company he will remain so long as his *Life of Johnson* continues to be read.

B. G. MacCarthy

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART XVII.—SURFACE-FEEDING AND DIVING DUCKS

THE GADWALL.—The Gadwall was formerly a rather scarce and irregular winter visitor, but in the present century it has become more numerous from autumn to spring. It has been obtained in every county except Kilkenny and Longford.

The drake is rather smaller than the Mallard, looking at a distance uniformly brown-grey with black upper and under tail-coverts. At close quarters it shows a fine " pepper and salt " speckling on the head and neck, wavy markings on the back and flanks and a bolder pattern of dark and light crescents on the breast. A distinctive feature is the white speculum bordered in front by a black band. This prominent patch is very noticeable in the bird in flight and often also on the water. The female is much like the female Mallard in plumage, but is more slightly built. The bill is dark-grey with orange at the sides, and the legs are orange-yellow. The eclipse plumage is early assumed by the adult male and is generally complete by the beginning of June, while the change to full plumage takes place from August to October. In its general habits the Gadwall resembles the Mallard, but it is more shy and retiring and tends to sit higher on the water.

The species has a very wide breeding range in Europe, Asia, the United States of America and in Africa at Lake Fetzara, North Algeria. It first bred in England in 1850 from pinioned birds that had been captured in decoys. These not only reared young but attracted wild migrants, some of which remained to nest. It now breeds in many places in England and Scotland. In Ireland the records of nesting have so far been few : it bred in Armagh in 1933 and 1936, and in Fermanagh in 1938. But as the species is occurring here and in Great Britain with increasing frequency, it is not unlikely that it will soon extend its breeding range in this country. Its winter migrations extend to N.W. Africa, Nigeria, Abyssinia, the Red Sea, Iraq, India, China and Japan, and in America to the Gulf of Mexico and Jamaica. Of the Gadwall ringed in Iceland as young or breeding adults, three have been recovered in Kerry, two in Galway and one each in Roscommon, Westmeath and Fermanagh between October and February.

THE TEAL.—The Teal is resident and breeds in limited numbers throughout the country. It is much more abundant from autumn to spring owing to the arrival of immigrants on a large scale. Many Teal ringed as young in Iceland have been recovered in several Irish counties

from October to March, with one very early recovery in August. Similarly many captured as adults at decoys and ringed in Denmark have been obtained in various counties and curiously enough in the same months, including August, as the recoveries of birds from Iceland. Again several ringed as adults in Holland and one in Russia have been recovered from October to January. Others ringed in Scotland and the North of England have been found ; but most remarkable of all is the great number of Teal ringed in Wales and recovered in Ireland. At the Orielton Decoy, Pembroke, huge numbers of duck, including Teal, have for some years now been captured annually on migration and ringed. Teal ringed at the Orielton Decoy have been recovered in the majority of the Irish counties from October to February, with one late recovery in May. Most of the Orielton birds have been shot in the year of ringing or in the following year, but birds ringed elsewhere show a tendency to a longer survival, some being found after two, three and four years. One bird from Iceland survived seven years and one from Scotland ten years from the date of ringing. The return passage takes place from the end of March to early May. I have seen large concentrations of Teal, probably about to emigrate, on the Murroughs of Co. Wicklow in April. On December 2nd 1946 Dr. G. Scroope and I saw 150-200 Teal feeding on the ooze at Dollymount, Dublin. These may have been late arrivals of the autumn migration, which is said to end in November, or they may have been just nomadic birds, the species being much given to wandering during the winter.

Its small size distinguishes the Teal from most species of duck. The full-plumaged drake is a very beautiful and distinctive bird. The head is chestnut with a broad metallic-green band, narrowly outlined in buff, enclosing the eye and extending back to the nape. The back and flanks are vermiculated and the breast spotted. There is a yellow-buff patch on either side of the black under tail-coverts, and there is a white stripe above the wing. The female is brown mottled with buff and the underparts are more or less strongly spotted in summer but whiter in winter. Both sexes have a speculum, half metallic-green and half black, with two narrow white wing-bars, both distinct in the female, but the hind bar is very faint in the male.

The Teal is very agile on the wing. Few birds can leave the water with greater speed when flushed. Hence in the old sporting phraseology a flock was appropriately called a " Spring of Teal ". They fly rapidly in a compact mass, wheeling and swerving with the precision of waders. When about to alight they often shoot downwards with great velocity, but when they are near the water they throw their feet and tail forward and check their speed with fluttering wings. Flocks in winter keep up a kind of conversational chuckle, while in spring the drakes utter a series of subdued whistles which produce the effect of a trilling song.

The Teal is single-brooded. It nests near lakes where there is good cover, in marshes near the coast and among heather in the great inland bogs. Sometimes the nest is at a considerable distance from any water except some tiny stream. Abroad it nests throughout northern Europe and Asia and ranges south in winter to Africa, India and China.

THE BLUE-WINGED TEAL.—The Blue-winged Teal is a native of America, breeding in Canada and the United States and wintering south to the Bahamas, the West Indies, Venezuela, French Guiana, Brazil and Chile. It is a very rare and accidental visitor to these islands. Three were obtained in Ireland: an immature female at Ballycotton, Co. Cork, in September 1910, a male on the Wexford Slob in August 1930 (I saw this bird in the flesh at Messrs. Williams', Dame Street, Dublin), and another female at Tervoe, Limerick, in November 1932. One each has occurred in spring in England, Scotland and Wales.

The Blue-winged Teal is the same size as the Garganey. The drake is distinguished by a grey-brown head with a white crescent in front of the eye. The back is red-brown with buff and black markings. The speculum is metallic-green with a white band in front. The female is much like the Garganey. Her speculum is duller than the male's and has a faint buffish bar. A distinguishing feature in both sexes is the lapis lazuli blue fore-wing, which is only a little duller in the female than in the male.

THE GARGANEY.—Though not so rare as the Blue-winged Teal, the Garganey is an irregular and infrequent visitor to some thirteen Irish counties. It has occurred chiefly in March and April, more rarely in autumn and winter. A recent appearance has been at Lissagriffin Lake, near Glengariff, Co. Cork, where Mr. J. E. Flynn fully identified a Garganey on April 10th 1946. Another occurrence, hitherto not published, has been at Loughmore, near Limerick, where a duck and a drake were seen on the water on March 22nd 1947. Now since the mere statement that a rare bird has been seen is not taken by ornithologists as an authentic record, I have to say that the observer is quite reliable and competent and that from the evidence, including a pencil drawing of the drake, which he submitted I am satisfied that the birds were Garganey and not Teal.

A small duck, the Garganey looks about the size of a Teal, but is in reality a trifle larger. The most notable features of the drake are the broad white stripe which, in strong contrast to the dark crown, passes above the eye in a graceful curve to the nape, and the blue-grey fore-wing. Long, pointed, black and white feathers droop over the wing. The speculum is metallic-green with a white bar in front and behind. Another conspicuous character is that the warm brown of the breast

with its crescentic markings ends abruptly and does not shade into the white of the abdomen. The drake retains the eclipse state much longer than the Teal, the full plumage being sometimes not complete till February. The female closely resembles the Teal duck, but has only a very dull speculum between white bars, has a more distinct eye-stripe and looks paler on the water.

The Garganey breeds throughout the Palaearctic region south of the Arctic Circle. I have seen its nest in a hay-field on the Island of Texel, Holland. In England it is a summer resident, breeding in some eastern and southern counties. So far it has not been recorded as nesting in Ireland. In winter it visits tropical Africa and southern Asia, its range being more southerly than that of the other surface-feeding ducks.

THE WIGEON.—The Wigeon is a regular and abundant winter visitor, sometimes appearing in enormous numbers. It chiefly frequents the estuaries around Ireland, but it is also found on inland lakes, marshes and rivers. It arrives exceptionally in August, sometimes in September, but usually in October and continues to increase in numbers to the middle or end of November. The departure takes place in March and April, though some birds may remain into May.

The drake is a conspicuous bird on the water, showing a large white wing-patch and a yellow-buff fore-head and crown, appearing creamy-white in strong light. The back and flanks are grey finely pencilled with black, the breast is pinkish shading somewhat abruptly into white and the under tail-coverts are black bordered in front by a pure white area. A distinctive feature of the drake in flight is the broad white patch on the front of the wing. In the more sombre duck the white on the wing is generally concealed when she is swimming, but shows distinctly in flight. She has a rufous head, a well marked back and white under-parts. The speculum in the male is dark-green, broadly bordered by black, and in the female dusky with little or no green and enclosed between the white wing-bars.

The Wigeon rises straight off the water and flies rapidly, though not so fast as the Teal, often twisting and swerving in its course. It is a thoroughly gregarious and flocks passing overhead produce a loud and distinctive fluttering sound. It is not by preference a nocturnal feeder, but becomes so when persecuted, flighting at dusk to the feeding grounds. On the coast it feeds chiefly on *zostera marina*, popularly known as Wigeon grass, sometimes up-ending to reach the plants, but it comes freely to land and grazes like geese on pastures. The call of the male is a loud musical whistle, easily imitated by wild fowlers to attract the birds, that of the female being a purring growl. The pair sometimes call in unison producing the effect of a single note.

The Wigeon breeds widely in Scotland and sparingly in England and

Wales. A few pairs were believed to have bred in Ireland, but actual proof was not furnished until 1933, when a nest with seven eggs was found in Armagh. Abroad it breeds in northern Europe and Asia and has bred in Greenland. In winter it is found in tropical Africa, India, China, the Marshall Islands and Japan, and in North America on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts and the Mississippi valley.

Several Wigeon ringed in Great Britain, Iceland and the continent have been recovered in Ireland, and these give some indication of the origin and migrations of the hosts of Wigeon found here in winter. There are only three records of birds from England: two ringed as adults in Norfolk in January 1938 and shot in Wexford in December 1938 and February 1939; and one adult ringed in Suffolk in January 1938 and shot in Louth in the following November. Four birds from Scotland, three ringed as nestlings and one as full grown, were shot in Down, Mayo, Roscommon and Cork, the last bird being obtained near Youghal as early as August 18th. Strangely enough only one bird, so far as I am aware, ringed at the Orielton Decoy has been recovered in Ireland. Apparently Pembrokeshire is not on one of the main migrating routes of Wigeon to this country, as it seems to be for Teal. The greatest number of ringed Wigeon has been from Iceland. I have before me the details of fourteen birds, twelve ringed as nestlings and two as breeding adults, which were obtained from September to January in eleven different counties, three having been got in Donegal and two in Kerry. Nine of these were shot within the first year, after two, three, four, five, six and eight months, from the date of ringing. Two survived into the second year, one into the fourth and one, ringed as an adult, into the fifth year. Finally three birds ringed as adults in Holland, East Prussia and Russia were obtained during winter. The Russian Wigeon was shot in Co. Kildare on December 15th 1931, and the ring was sent to me. I reported the recovery and in due course was informed that the bird was caught when flightless during the moult and ringed on July 25th 1931 in the delta of the Volga at Astrakhan. I was also informed as a curious coincidence that another Wigeon, ringed at the same place, Astrakhan, a month later, was shot in Suffolk, England, on December 15th, the same day as the Kildare bird.

Great numbers of Wigeon have been shot in the past and continue to be shot annually in this country. Payne-Gallwey in *The Fowler in Ireland* tells of huge bags secured in the last century. In the severe winter 1880-1881 out of fifteen hundred wild fowl killed by him on the west coast twelve hundred were Wigeon, and for other years he recounts that sixty, seventy and ninety-six Wigeon were obtained by himself and others from single shots of punt guns. At the present time Wigeon greatly preponderate over all other wild fowl exposed for sale during the shooting season. I am told that in the Dublin markets there are usually about ten Wigeon for every one of all other species of duck, and

this estimate seems to be borne out by the display of wild fowl in the poulterers' shops of the city. Yet the statement of Abel Chapman the great naturalist and wild fowler, in *The Borders and Beyond*, that " probably out of every hundred Wigeon that seek our shores in winter, upwards of ninety return unscathed to the North in spring " is, I fully believe, as true today as when he wrote it in 1924. At any rate I can see no lessening of numbers of Wigeon on the Dublin coast, and the species is said to be more plentiful now in the Midlands than it used to be.

THE PINTAIL —The Pintail is resident in some few localities and is numerous and increasing as a winter visitor. On inland waters it generally appears singly, in pairs or in small parties. Larger flocks are found near the coast and especially in estuaries. I have often seen large numbers on the North Bull, Dublin. On November 26th 1946, to take a recent date, I counted nearly one hundred drakes spread out in a thin line along the border of the island opposite Raheny. There were many ducks, but since they were mingled with Wigeon I could not estimate their numbers while they remained on the ground. Later, however, as the tide rose, before any Wigeon made a move, the Pintail flew off towards the North Wall in small parties of from five to ten. In most parties there were more ducks than drakes, though in almost every case a drake took the leading place in the flight. Hence I concluded there must have been about two hundred Pintail all told on the North Bull on that date.

The drake is a slender, stream-lined, elegant bird with two elongated central tail feathers. The long neck with a white stripe passing down each side to the white breast is a distinctive character. This white streak is thrown into prominence by the rich brown of the head and upper neck and catches the eye even at a distance ; and frequently a Pintail betrays its presence in the midst of a pack of sleeping Wigeon by its habit of craning its neck as a precaution against possible danger. Other characters are the vermiculated pattern of the back and flanks, the long, pointed buff-edged black scapulars and a buff patch in front of the black under-tail-coverts. In the female the pointed tail is shorter, but her slender neck and long narrow wings distinguish her in flight. The speculum of the drake is glossy bronze-green bordered in front with buff and behind with black ; in the duck it is obscure and brownish, the buff in front being less pronounced. The flight is rapid with quick wing-beats which produce a hissing sound.

The Pintail is said to have bred many years ago in the late Lord Castletown's marshes near Granston, Leix, and in 1932 a nest with eight eggs was found there. It has also bred in Roscommon and in Armagh since 1923, and more recently in Antrim and Down.

The species breeds throughout Europe and northern Asia and migrates through the Mediterranean region to Africa south to Kordofan and British

East Africa, and in Asia to Ceylon, Burma, Formosa, Japan, Borneo and the Philippines. Today it is a familiar bird on the Nile during migration, and it must have been equally familiar in the days of the earlier dynasties of Egypt thousands of years ago. For no other duck is so often represented on the tomb decorations of the Kings, in the passages of the Pyramids, on the columns of the temples and amongst the hieroglyphics of the papyrus manuscripts; and the court painters of the time rendered their Pintail unmistakable with its graceful form, its thin white neck and its pointed ornamental tail feathers. It is the same stream-lined bird, unchanged by the passage of time, which we see today on our coasts, estuaries and lakes.

THE SHOVELER.—The Shoveler is a resident species in all the provinces and seems to have increased and to have extended its breeding range. I have seen its nests in Wicklow—a county of which Ussher and Warren had no information as a breeding place. It usually occurs singly, in pairs or in small parties, but at the time of the spring migration in late March and early April I have seen flocks of upwards of one hundred in the Murroughs of Wicklow.

The Shoveler is found in the Old and New Worlds and breeds in Europe, Asia and North America. In autumn it migrates through southern Europe, the Mediterranean region and North Africa to tropical Africa and, like the Pintail, is a familiar and abundant species on the Nile during migration. In Asia it migrates to Ceylon, China, Formosa and the Philippines. From North America it travels south to winter in central America, the West Indies, Colombia and the Hawaiian Islands. In autumn there is a considerable migration from the continent to this country. Birds ringed as young in Denmark have been recovered in Antrim and Fermanagh while one ringed at Lake Ilmen in Russia in July was obtained at Gort, Co. Galway, in September of the following year, and one captured on migration and ringed in November at the Orielton Decoy, Pembrokeshire, was shot on the Shannon a little more than a year later.

The Shoveler is a duck of remarkable appearance both on the water and in the air. This is due to its enormous bill, which is quite out of proportion to the size of the body, being longer than the head, and is spatulate in shape and almost twice as broad near the tip as at the base. This singular bill is also furnished with long, thin lamellae like the teeth of a fine comb, through which the food is strained. The handsome drake has a dark green head, white breast and scapulars, a rich chestnut lower breast and abdomen and a pale blue fore-wing. The duck is duller and somewhat resembles the female Mallard, from which, however, it is distinguished by its more stocky build, its shorter neck and its longer bill. The speculum is green with a white wing-bar in front and a narrow

white border behind. The legs are orange, duller in the female, and the bill is blackish in the male, brownish with some orange at the base in the female. It swims with its fore-parts low in the water and with its heavy bill inclined downwards. It feeds by paddling rapidly about and dabbling with its bill in the water. It is an active flier and spends much of its time on the wing in spring, and later when the young are hatched it will keep flying round and round as long as intruders are in the vicinity.

It is single-brooded, nesting in meadows and rough ground near water, generally in an open site. The nest is a hollow in dry ground, with some shelter from vegetation, and is lined with grass, down and feathers. From 8 to 12 eggs are laid and incubation is by the duck only.

As a table bird the Shoveler is said to be of a delicate flavour, but I have heard fowlers speak disparagingly of it in comparison with Teal, Mallard and Wigeon. In America, where there is a proverb that " No one should pass a Shoveler to shoot a Canvas Back ", the species is apparently more generally appreciated.

Diving Ducks

THE RED-CRESTED POCHARD.—The Red-crested Pochard, one of the group of ducks which habitually obtain their food by diving, is a native of southern Europe and western Asia. It is a rare vagrant to these islands and has been found only twice in Ireland. A male was shot near Tralee, Co. Kerry, on January 18th 1881, and another male at Reendongan Lake, Co. Cork, on December 29th 1927.

This bird is larger than the Common Pochard. The adult drake has a crimson yellow-tipped bill, a rich chestnut head with a conspicuous golden-bay crest, which shows well both in flight and on the water. The neck, breast and abdomen are dark-brown, the upper parts are mouse-brown with a white mark across the shoulders and the flanks are white. A broad white patch shows on the extended wing. The duck, lacking the crest, resembles the female Common Scoter, but her pale cheek is more sharply defined and she has a white wing patch. This species has sixteen feathers in its tail as compared with fourteen in the Common Pochard.

THE COMMON POCHARD.—This Pochard is a winter visitor to every part of Ireland and is found on both fresh and salt water, often in large flocks. Payne-Gallwey stated that on a south-western estuary he had found five thousand collected together after a gale, and that on a lake at Castlegregory, Co. Kerry, he had seen fully three thousand, intermixed with Scaup and Goldeneyes. (cf. *The Fowler in Ireland*, pp. 95 and 99.) The species used to be very numerous on the lake in the Zoological Gardens and on other waters in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, where from

1925 to 1935 I often counted flocks of hundreds, mostly males. In recent winters, though there are always some Pochards on these waters, they have not been so plentiful as they were formerly.

The Pochard is also resident in limited numbers. According to Ussher and Warren (1900) it was stated to have bred in several counties. In the present century definite proof has been obtained of its nesting in Monaghan, Roscommon and Leix. In May 1934 Mr. P. E. Dunn and I found several breeding pairs on a western lake, and one of the ducks which we flushed was incubating 12 eggs. Abroad it breeds in Europe and Asia, but does not nest so far north as some other ducks ; it winters in southern Europe, Egypt and east to India, China and Japan.

The " Red-headed Pochard ", as it is often called, is not difficult to identify, for the head and neck of the drake are a rich chestnut-red, the breast and tail-coverts are black and most of the upper-parts and flanks are lavender-grey, finely pencilled with undulating black lines. The duck is a dull brown with a white appearance about the base of the bill, cheeks and throat. The absence of any white on the wing is a valid diagnostic character of both sexes. The bill of the adult is light blue with a dark base and tip, and is duller in the female. Like other diving ducks, Pochards do not spring clear of the water when rising, but " taxi " along the surface for some distance, striking with wings and running feet. In winter they are markedly gregarious and flocks show a large excess of males. They spend most of the day resting on open water, and yet it is difficult to count an apparently sleeping flock, as some keep disappearing and bobbing up again after the dives. From the Phoenix Park the birds flight at dusk and return again before morning.

THE FERRUGINOUS DUCK.—The Ferruginous Duck, or White-eyed Pochard, is a rare vagrant which has been found in this country eight or nine times between November and March. It breeds in Europe and Asia and winters south to the Mediterranean, Egypt, Nigeria and Abyssinia, and east to Persia, India and Burma.

This species might easily be confused with the Common Pochard, as the general colouring is very similar. But it is a smaller duck, and both sexes may be distinguished by the presence of a wing-bar and a white spot on the chin. The drake is of a much browner chestnut on the head and neck and of a darker brown on the back than the Pochard. His white eye, from which he gets his name, is very noticeable. The brown-eyed female is duller, but the conspicuous white under tail-coverts readily distinguish her from the female Tufted Duck, which she closely resembles. In flight and general habits the Ferruginous Duck is much like the Pochard.

P. G. KENNEDY

SOME PICTURESQUE PHILOSOPHERS

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.

I.—The Pioneers

A TRUTH rich in suggestion and signified by the private lives of most of the philosophers known to history is that it is hard to be very wise without being a little odd. Perhaps the reason of this fact is that other truth stated by Plato and Aristotle: that wonder is the mother of philosophy. For when a man is rapt in wonder his reputation for normality is in the hands of chance. Being wondering is already being wandering and is the first step towards being wonderful. A professor of philosophy so indistinguishable that he melts into his surroundings becomes suspect of carelessness in maintaining his professional manner. And when a professor retires prematurely, it is often necessary to ask oneself anxiously the questions: Had he diligently performed his daily wondering? Had he persevered in queerness? Had he laboured to keep fresh the straws in his hair?

Clearly I am not implying that the eccentricities of philosophers are necessarily the outward expression of their strange ideas. Doubtless in some of them the particular forms assumed by their pleasing unconventionality of behaviour are the fruits of their lone and laborious misunderstanding of their surroundings. But that odd philosophy is not the general cause of odd philosophers is proved by the facts that some philosophers who had sound ideas have been odd and that others have been odd in ways that were logically inconsistent with their principles. St. Thomas (notwithstanding his great girth) had a chronic tendency to forget his meals, though both sense and reason must have informed him that his potency desired its act. Spinoza's wild delight in setting spiders to fight and kill each other was an exhibition of evil that in itself was a refutation of his pantheism. Kant flaunted his neat calves through silk stockings held up by suspender-garters of his own invention; but it would be far-fetched to claim that he thereby admitted an exception to his principles because his stockings were too serious a matter to be allowed to depend solely on his *a priori*, or even to claim that there was any connection whatever between his philosophy and his garters. Fichte claimed for himself infallibility on the ground that the Absolute spoke through his lips, but he would not allow that the Absolute was equally reliable when He spoke through the lips of others. And when Herbert Spencer, finding himself seated beside a bore at dinner, donned the ear-flaps that he had had made to protect himself in such a situation and so surrendered his character to the mercy of all the gossips present, he can hardly have thought that he was acting for the survival of the fittest. No,

queer ideas may help, but wonder is the principal cause of the queer behaviour of philosophers. They are amazing because they are amazed.

Some philosophers, however, near our own times have begun their speculative explorations for motives other than wonder and some of these, like John Stuart Mill, have contrived to keep their ideas and their behaviour innocent of all that is remarkable. Even of these, however, some may rightly be called picturesque ; for, though their actions have not been eccentric, they have sometimes suffered strange fates. This series of articles will consider a few philosophers who have been singular in their ideas or their behaviour or their fortunes, or in all or any two of these ways. So let us now have done with explanations and try to show from facts how our thesis is verified in the life-stories, so far as they are known, of some of the very earliest philosophers.

It was inevitable that when European man had attained a mature culture, he would sooner or later begin to speculate on the causes of things. But why philosophy should have arisen in a particular time and place—actually in Miletus at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.—is a matter for conjecture. Greek clarity of mind must have been one favourable circumstance. Greek clarity of atmosphere must have been another. The spare and simple scenery of the Aegean countryside is lit by a glow that seems to turn forms into attitudes and postures into gestures ; every shape seems to be shaping. And when a landscape thus looks like a fairy-tale, the beholder can but wonder. Miletus itself was the kind of place that afforded inducements to philosophise. Founded a century earlier by Ionian colonists and already the metropolis of other cities, it lay in what is now Asiatic Turkey at the mouth of the Meander and at the margin of its rich valley. It was thus a link between three continents, a natural centre of commerce, into which vagrant sailors must have imported versions of the cosmogonical theories of Egypt and Asia. Moreover the Milesians had the leisure and freedom from worry needed to ponder the stimulating suggestions of their foreign visitors. Neither so poor that they needed to toil like ants for a livelihood nor so rich that they were tempted to abandon themselves to pleasure, they were induced by circumstances to find amusement in the excursions of the mind. And, though they were already jostled by the Persians, their confidence in the solidarity of Hellas saved them from excessive preoccupation with the problems of military defence.

THALES OF MILETUS

But it is almost as likely that philosophy owed its origin not to environment but solely to the peculiar character of Thales of Miletus who, according to Aristotle, was the first of European philosophers. He was by profession military engineer to Croesus, the fabulously rich King of Lydia. The wealth of his employer perhaps explains why Thales was

allowed so much time for private enterprise and why he devoted it to carving for himself a brilliantly destructive career in high finance. He had learned from his study of Babylonian astronomy how to foretell eclipses and thus (by an art now obviously lost) to forecast the weather. He was thus able in a certain year to foresee a bumper crop of olives long before anyone else. Acting at once on his private knowledge he quietly bought up all the crops in the country at a relatively small price and made a corner in olive oil and a fortune. To have invented capitalism, or at least monopolies, is his first claim to notoriety. Thales accomplished another exploit on a journey to Egypt to study geometry. The Egyptians taught him that a triangle with sides in the proportion of three, four, and five contained a right angle. He developed this principle and, it is said, devised a technique from it by which he measured the height of the Pyramids.

Of his philosophical principles Aristotle has handed down to us only two statements, which are respectively the dullest and the most exciting statements ever made by man. The dull one is that everything is made of water; the exciting one is that everything is full of gods. The first is as deceptively clear as water; the second is as deceptively secretive as water is when it is muddied with something else. Aristotle has surmised that Thales's argument for the conclusion that all is water derived from the moisture that he observed to be necessary to convert aliment into living flesh. From water you can only get water. If therefore living flesh is a form of water, may not everything be a form of water? He thus came to conceive of the whole universe as animate. It was water acted upon by one or more living souls that caused it to vegetate and turn into land. This land floated as a flat disc on top of the water that was thus transformed into land, with all its variety, by the universal digestive forces. Thales's conclusions will probably seem to us unsatisfactory; but his philosophical aim, as we shall see, proved him to be a genius. His reverence for water made him a pioneer of philosophers as well as, in a sense, a pioneer of the Pioneers.

Thales's other statement is thus explained. The gods are indeed the gods of the Greek pantheon. They are not water, for they are said to be *in* the water. They are in fact identified, as they probably were originally, with the forces of nature and these with the souls necessary to move the water to evolve into the various substances of the cosmos. Thales's concept of the world is therefore pantheistic. His presumption that the unity observed in different things is explained by the homogeneity of their original constituent principle (water) rendered this inevitable. If the original self-explanatory unity is a fully determined stuff of which all things are to be made, the gods are required to explain not its unity but its subsequent diversity. The spirits of the flood have manufactured from the flood a world with all the sorts that it takes to make a world. It is only when physics will yield to metaphysics and observation to

reasoning that the true idea of God will be discovered. Theism begins with the recognition that the unity of the world is ultimately to be explained not by the unity of any of its constituent principles but by the unity of an efficient cause outside of it.

But, though Thales had arrived at a wrong explanation of the unity of the world, placing it in a constituent cause rather than in an efficient or creative cause, he had shown genius in recognising that it needed an explanation at all. In fact he had been the first to raise that fundamental problem of all philosophy, the problem of the One and the Many. He had only to open his eyes to see that things were many. He easily recognised their unity by noting how they were linked together by chains of causes and effects. But he had shown genius by realising that, when facts are obviously true and simultaneous, *how* they can be simultaneously true may yet remain mysterious. Unity and multitude are contradictory in their definitions ; one denies the other. Both cannot be true in the same way of the same reality at the same time. The royal " we " cannot be taken literally ; a king is one literally, but he is plural only as the representative of a plurality or multitude. The editorial " we " is simply a fiction to intimidate importunate contributors. But the unity and multitude of the world seem both to be literally true facts. Two men are literally two as individuals, and literally one in their humanity. How can two be one ? Thales in discovering this problem had founded western philosophy, and he deserves the honour that men unaccountably give to those who discover knotty questions and leave them unsolved for the torment of others.

Thales started a tradition and even founded a school in Asia Minor. Two of his followers deserve mention even in a brief selective survey of the Pre-Socratics. One was Heracleitus, a noble of Ephesus, called the obscure or the weeping philosopher. It would be more just to remember him as one of the great cholerics of history, one of the worst-tempered men who ever lived. He was also one of the most arrogant aristocrats. He had the title of *Basileus* ; but such was his contempt for his inferiors, the Ephesians, that he abdicated it in favour of his brother. Is there any other instance in history of a man who was too great a snob to accept a royal title ? The extant fragments of his writings show that he devoted much attention to criticism of the opinions of his adversaries, that is, of almost everyone. But he would have no nonsense about treating them courteously. He poured out a wealth of aristocratic bad language on them that at times has the sublimity of a volcano. His solution of the problem of the One and the Many was astonishingly audacious. For him the unifying principle of the world was change itself. Unity arose from the all-pervading uniformity of disunity. Change was not something that happened to essences ; it was something that partially constituted essences in the sense that everything was partially *made* of change itself. Here

therefore we find the first recognition in philosophy of the reality of an abstraction, but also the conception of that abstraction as a thing—in other words, formally verified. Through his pupil, Cratylus the tutor of Plato, Heracleitus will influence Plato and give immortal currency to his own doctrine of change, which has presaged the later conception of the self as a stream of consciousness and quite recently the whole philosophy of Bergson.

Pythagoras and his Brotherhood

The second follower of the Ionic thinkers who deserves mention is Pythagoras. Actually Pythagoras's importance is less to be sought in the nature of his thought than in the influence that he wielded through his personality and his awakening of the whole Greek world to an interest in speculation. He was the wild bird that carried the seed across the seas. Yet he has left his mark on philosophy if only by encouraging the delusion that it is no more than higher mathematics. He had studied geometry in Egypt, and the wonders of right-angled triangles that Thales had already broached filled him with a strange ecstasy. He discovered, or perhaps only imported, the thesis that in a right-angled triangle the square on the hypotenuse was equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides. This was easily demonstrable in a triangle with sides 3, 4, and 5. But in the isosceles right-angled triangle, the most perfect of all, the squares on the sides do not add up to a quantity whose square root can be determined. The Pythagoreans swore to keep this scandal a secret and when one of them, Hippasus, betrayed it to the outside world they reluctantly drowned him. Pythagoras discovered a further illustration of the virtues of consecutive numbers when he discovered the principle of the violin. He discovered that a taut string giving out a musical note gave its own octave when stopped half-way, gave the fifth when it was stopped two-thirds of its length, and gave the fourth when it was stopped at three-quarters of its length. Meditating these discoveries, he came to the conclusion that various elements cooperated to produce a natural effect when they were related in the exact proportions of whole numbers—especially of consecutive whole numbers. He confirmed his conclusion by the general observation that number at once related things and kept them apart; it was the explanation of how many could yet be one, namely one multitude expressible as a number. Thus number was identified with order or harmony, and both with the substance of things. As Aristotle puts it, the Pythagoreans identified the doubleness of things in pairs with the things that were doubled, again by an hypostasisation of an abstraction.

The later Pythagoreans even identified this analogical harmony with the literal harmony of music and conceived the stars as a procession of bodies constructed of their own chanting—inaudible to human ears,

but " still choiring to the round-eyed cherubim". The sacred figure that was the compendious symbol of all Pythagorean learning was thus the tetractys, an equilateral triangle built of dots, one at the apex, with two underneath, then three, and four along the base. Hence it was composed of the first four natural whole numbers, corresponding to the point, the line, the square, and the cube, and totalling the mystic number ten.

Yet this delightful though impossible view of things finished up in dismal anticlimax, like so much of the romance of the nursery. Pythagoras still wished to find in nature the substance that constituted the unity of a multitude and which he called number. He therefore identified unity with infinite space, which he considered as a real substance. Borrowing an idea from Anaximander, the first disciple of Thales, he explained things as " bottled up " bits of space, as being therefore nothing more than the spaces that they occupied determined by their own limits. A thing was this and not that by being this part of space and not that part ; yet all things were one by being *space*. Actually a revision of this theory will explain individuation in the same species, but Pythagoras never realised that it was no explanation at all of different *kinds* of things. For that he would have needed to consider not the limitation of space but the limitation of being.

But Pythagoras was one of the world's greatest men rather as an educator than as a philosopher. His aim was knowledge, not for its own sake but as the foundation of sanctity or at least of human perfection. And his history is as tragic and moving as that of any man who has defied his fellows for conscience' sake.

He was born at Samos, an island not far from Miletus, and thus came under the influence of the Ionic physicists. He seems to have made his visit to Egypt mentioned above as a young man. But when Polycrates made himself despot of Samos in 530 B.C. Pythagoras was back in Samos with his ideas matured. Therefore, though we know that he resented the tyrant's usurpation, he cannot have done so on principle. For consistently with his reverence for unity his ideal of government was an enlightened despotism. The cause of his rage therefore must have been Polycrates's oppression of the people. Anyhow it is certain that near the beginning of Polycrates's reign he fled to Croton, an Achaean colony on the mainland of Italy.

In Croton he founded his greatest work, the Pythagorean brotherhood. This was a society of young men who put themselves under the direction of Pythagoras and indeed, such was their veneration for his character and their faith in his opinions, virtually under his authority as well. The society was divided into groups living apart from each other called *synedriae* or lodges. Here the neophytes practised the study of Pythagoras's philosophy, including medicine, arithmetic, and geometry. All goods were held in common and the fare was the same for all, a strictly

vegeterian diet. Celibacy was enjoined, but only for the period of their training, for Pythagoras himself was married. Friendship amongst themselves, veneration for God (naturally they were monotheists, though otherwise inaccurate theologians), love of country and of parents were other favourite virtues of theirs. Their asceticism was severe. The Pythagorean oath, sworn on the tetractys, bound each one to complete silence for two years and for his whole life to a kind of *disciplina arcani*, absolute secrecy about the scientific learning of the adepts. They wore no woollen clothing even in winter, maintained their health by daily gymnastics, and purged their minds with music and their bodies with pills. It is not a coincidence that the picture bears a crude and oddly distorted resemblance to a Christian monastery. For the idea of a community for mutual aid in attaining perfection had been passed on from the Pythagoreans through the Academy of Plato to Saint Augustine, who had no slight influence on Christian monasticism. In Smith's Dictionary it is said that "the resemblance between the Pythagorean brotherhood and the order founded by Loyola has often been noted." Nevertheless it must be insisted that the resemblance is not perfect.

But this nobler than Arcadian life, touching even in its few grotesque elements (though on any showing the murder of Hippasus must be held to have passed the bounds of decorum), was destined to benefit mankind only by the inspiration of its memory. For after the years of training the Pythagorean adepts were wont to form themselves into a kind of Old Boy's Union in close touch with their *Alma Mater*. And the arrogance of the old school tie has not been so offensive as was that of the old school chlamys. These Old Pythagoreans in loyalty to their principles sought by every fair means to make the world dangerous for democracy. When Pythagoras had first established the brotherhood of Croton, such was his influence that he had been asked to draw up a constitution for the city. The nearest approach to his monarchical ideal that he dared to introduce was an aristocracy, in which Pythagoreans held key-positions. There is every reason to believe that the government was a benevolent one. Nevertheless it offended many by the exclusiveness of the brotherhood, especially ambitious men like Cylon, who had been told that he had no vocation for the Pythagorean life. It was thus that some aristocrats like Cylon and all the democrats, almost everyone in fact except the Pythagoreans themselves, nursed a secret grievance against both the neophytes and the adepts of the brotherhood.

The unrest broke out in the year 510. The Crotoniates had refused the demand of Tyles the tyrant of Sybaris for extradition of his enemies who were sheltering at Croton. Tyles declared war and took the field; but he was disastrously defeated by the army of Croton under Milo, the Pythagorean athlete and Olympic victor, assisted by others of the brotherhood, who destroyed Sybaris and annexed its territory. The wave

of friendliness and reconciliation with their rulers that swept over the people of Croton after this triumph induced the democratic leaders to ask the Pythagoreans for some concessions. Unexpectedly the Pythagoreans refused and turned the friendliness repulsed into deeper hatred. While the brotherhood was assembled in the house of Milo to discuss civic affairs, a great mob led by Cylon suddenly swarmed around the house with torches and weapons. The house was burned and all but a few of those within were murdered. Pythagoras himself, one of the few to escape, fled to Metapontum, where he soon died. Nevertheless the brotherhood in Croton was restored and resumed its old rôle in politics. But the attacks were also renewed. In every city in Italy the Pythagorean clubs became suspect and disliked. At last in the middle of the fifth century there was a general uprising against the order; its lodges were burned and its members slain or driven into exile. It was after this disruption that some of the *diaspora* fled to Athens or other cities of the Greek homeland and there kindled the love of philosophy.

But the most important influence exercised by Pythagoras was on Parmenides. The historical evidence of the nature and extent of that influence is conflicting. But that it was considerable should be clear from the impossibility of any fifth-century Greek of the Italian mainland who was interested in ideas not becoming interested in Pythagoras. And it is a safe conjecture that the Pythagorean influence at least introduced Parmenides to the problem of the One and the Many, and awakened his genius to attempt its solution. It is even more certain that Parmenides's solution abruptly disagreed with those of all his predecessors except Xenophanes. But the story of Parmenides and other picturesque philosophers must await a further article.

ARTHUR LITTLE

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part XXI

TYRRELL, EDWARD, ecclesiastic. Born in 1597 in Co. Meath, he entered the university of Paris (Collège de Navarre) in 1629 and graduated as doctor of theology in 1632. In the following year he was appointed proctor of the German Nation (which included Ireland) in the university. Later he was official agent of the Confederation of Kilkenny at Paris, and it was he who conducted negotiations for Rinuccini at the French court. The latter wrote of him that he " always behaved so as to give much satisfaction even to the ecclesiastical party". Tyrrell played an active part in the disputes regarding Jansenism at Paris in the middle years of the seventeenth century. The Irish ecclesiastics in that city, who had not signed the Declaration of their twenty-seven compatriots against the new heresy, took counsel with him and other prominent theologians in the French capital and presented a petition to the rector of the university begging that the Declaration might not be imputed to the whole nation.

Tyrrell was superior of the Irish College at Paris for some years. He died in 1671 and in his Will directed that his body should be buried in the Royal Chapel of St. Quentin. He bequeathed £100 for the payment of the debts of the community of Irish priests in Paris and £200 " to help the getting of a house for ye habitation of ye said Priests conditionally that ye Superior shall be of the diocese of Meath in Ireland or of the province of Leinster".

WALL, ANGELIQUE PATRICK (COUNT), soldier. Born at Ste. Sabine (Côte d'Or) in Burgundy in 1768. Son of General Count Patrick Wall. (*See* WALL, PATRICK). As a boy he entered Berwick's Irish regiment, in which he was listed as lieutenant in 1780. A zealous royalist, he left France after the outbreak of the Revolution and joined the émigrés and the army of the Princes. He returned to France after the restoration of the Bourbons and resumed his military career with the rank of maréchal-de-camp. In 1829 he was created Commander of the Order of Saint Louis. During the Revolution of July 1830 he was in supreme command of the Garde Royale and the other regiments in Paris. His efforts to suppress the insurrection failed, and Charles X, in whom ended the long line of Capetian kings, was dethroned. Retiring from active military service with the advent of Louis Philippe to the throne, Count Wall died at Paris on 10 June 1838. He has been described as the last of the Irish Brigade who drew a sword in defence of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon.

WALL, BALTHAZAR FRANCIS (CHEVALIER), soldier. Born on 10 August 1701 at Brignolle in Provence. Son of Oliver Wall (*See* WALL, OLIVER) of Ballynakilly, Co. Carlow, by Geneviève de Requiston (daughter of Balthazar de Requiston, representative of an ancient family of Provence). In accordance with a custom of the time in France, limited to influential families, he was from soon after his birth appointed to a sub-lieutenancy in Berwick's Irish regiment; and from boyhood he was endowed with a pension in consideration of the military services of his father and his two Irish uncles, all of whom died on the battle-field fighting for France. At the age of nine he entered as a page the household of the Duchess of Berry, daughter of Louis XIV. After her death in 1719 he was appointed lieutenant in the regiment of Vieille-Marine, which he went to join in Catalonia where it was then employed. On retiring from military activities there he was nominated ensign of the regiment of the Gardes Françaises, in which he became lieutenant in 1734. In that capacity he fought in various engagements in the War of the Polish Succession, including the siege of Philipsburgh. Ill-health compelled him to retire from active service soon afterwards, and Louis XV appointed him military governor of the town and château of Ham in Picardy. In 1746, on proving his ancient Irish lineage, he was admitted to the ranks of the French nobility as " Lord of Mesnutz in the diocese of Chartres in Beauce". His petition to Louis XV in 1746, containing a long history of his family in Carlow and Waterford, is among the MSS. of the R. I. Academy (24G20 and 24E1).

WALL, MARIE PATRICK (VISCOUNT), soldier. Relative of preceding. Born in May 1764 at Paris. Son of General Count Patrick Wall. Adopting a military career he entered in 1785 the Regiment du Roi, in which he acquired the reputation of a chivalrous and highly conscientious soldier. A manuscript of which he was the author (" Plan de conduite et de fortune ") came by accident into the hands of the Duke and Duchess of Rohan. It contained such noble sentiments that an intimate friendship was established between him and the Rohan family. Soon afterwards he married the Duke's niece, Adde Rohan of the illustrious house of Chabot. Some time subsequent to their marriage Wall went to join his regiment at Nancy, where he remained for four months. He then returned to join his wife at Paris. On 26 November 1787, the day after his return, he received a letter in which satisfaction was demanded for an old wrong and in which a meeting was suggested. Next day he set out for Fontainebleau, breakfasted there with a number of strangers, and in a short time they all started out for the Forest. Wall never returned, and seven days later his dead body was found in a secluded spot. His tragic end created a sensation in Paris, where he moved in high court circles. Some attributed his murder to masonic intrigue, while others believed it was a case of jealousy in which his wife was involved. In the year after his death there

was published : " Portefeuille d'un jeune homme de vingt-trois ans ", containing miscellaneous extracts from his papers.

WALL, OLIVER, soldier. Relative of preceding, he was born in 1656 and was the son of Peter Wall of Ballynakill, Co. Carlow (who was deprived of his estate during the Cromwellian regime), by Margaret Barnewall. With his two brothers, Matthew and Richard (they were cousins of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan), Oliver fought in the Jacobite War in Ireland, after which all three emigrated and entered the French army. In Ireland Oliver had held the rank of colonel ; but, on the re-arrangement of regiments in France, he like so many other Irish officers was reduced in rank and became a lieutenant in the Irish Horse Guards under the Duke of Berwick. Promoted later to a captaincy he fought under the Duke in various engagements in Spain and Italy—at Caslone in Andalusia, at Turin where he was wounded, at Almanza and the siege of Lerida. On the day of the capitulation of the latter place he was killed in action (1707). (His two brothers, Matthew and Richard, also died on active service. The former, who married a compatriot, Margaret Kindelan, at Paris in 1692, was killed at the siege of Barcelona in 1706 while acting as captain in Berwick's Irish regiment ; and Richard, an officer in Bourke's regiment, was killed in 1702 at the famous siege of Cremona).

On 6 April 1695 Oliver Wall married, at Brignolle in Provence, Geneviève daughter of Balthazar de Requiston. By her he had a son (*See* WALL, BALTHAZAR) and a daughter Marie-Thérèse who married in October 1739 Joseph de Guiran, Counsellor of the " Cour des Comptes " at Aix.

WALL, PATRICK (BARON DE SANTOUR and COUNT), soldier. Cousin of preceding and chief representative of the Leinster house of his name. Born in 1726 at Myshall, Co. Carlow, he was eldest son of Matthew Wall. In January 1746 he left Ireland to join Prince Charles Edward in Scotland and, after the battle of Culloden, where he was wounded, came to France with the Duke of Perth, a leader of the Jacobite Rising. In France he was appointed ensign in the Irish regiment of Rothe and, receiving rapid promotion, was transferred to the Irish cavalry corps of FitzJames. In this body he fought in the War of the Austrian Succession at Lauffelt and the siege of Maastricht. He was engaged in various battles of the Seven Years War and was one of the few who escaped the immense slaughter among the officers of Berwick's at Rosbach in 1757. Soon after the end of the war he was ennobled with the title of Count, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1781, and was admitted to the honours of the court in May 1784. At this time, too, he was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Louis, and he was for some time military governor of Paris. In 1779, when there were proposals of a French

invasion of Ireland, Count Wall presented a military description of his native land to the French ministry of war. In 1789 he retired from active service and received a pension of 3,200 francs. After the outbreak of the Revolution he left his estate at Ste. Sabine (Côte d'Or) in Burgundy and joined the Princes beyond the frontier. Returning to France after the Peace of Amiens in 1802, he died at Chatillon-sur-Seine in 1809.

General Count Wall was the father of Viscount Marie Patrick (*See* WALL, MARIE PATRICK) who was murdered in 1787, and of Count Angelique Patrick (*See* WALL, ANGELIQUE PATRICK). Direct and various collateral branches of this distinguished Irish family are still represented in France—the main branch resides at the chateau de Colombier in Burgundy.[1]

WALSH, ANTONY JOSEPH (2ND COUNT WALSH DE SERRANT), soldier. Born at Cadiz on 17 January 1744, he was son of Francis James, 1st Count Walsh de Serrant (*See* WALSH, FRANCIS JAMES) by Mary, daughter of Thomas Harper of Harperstown, Co. Wexford. In 1760 he joined Clare's Irish regiment in the French service as a lieutenant, and in 1762 he became a captain of FitzJames's Irish cavalry regiment, in whose fame he shared during the Seven Years War. When Lord Roscommon, colonel-proprietor of the regiment of Roscommon, died in 1766 Walsh became its colonel and its proprietor four years later. In 1775 he obtained recognition of noble birth and descent and was honoured with the privilege of riding in the king's carriages and of following his majesty in the chase. In 1782 he succeeded on his father's death to the title of Count de Serrant and, two years later, was promoted to the rank of maréchal-de-camp. In 1791, when the regiments of the Irish Brigade became incorporated in the French army, his corps became the 92nd of the line and, being a royalist, he emigrated and joined the Princes in Germany. Later he became colonel of the regiment of his name in the so-called Irish Brigade in the English service. In 1791 he was defendant in an action at Paris brought by a brother officer of the French service, Colonel MacDonagh (*See* MACDONAGH, ANTONY), who charged him with implication in a plot which resulted in MacDonagh being imprisoned for fourteen years.

Count Walsh de Serrant returned to France after the Peace of Amiens in 1802 and was created Count of the Empire by Napoleon in 1810. He died at the chateau of Serrant in Anjou in 1817. The last representative of this branch of the Walsh family was Louis, eleventh Duc de Tremouille

[1] The other chief branch of the Wall family was that of Coolnamuck, Co. Waterford, where Richard Wall the illustrious Spanish statesman was born in 1684. The first Irish troops in the service of France were a regiment of 3,000 men who came to that country in 1632. Among their officers were four sons of Gerard Wall of Coolnamuck—Michael, Richard, Edmund and Gerard—who were all slain in the service of their adopted country. Richard had a son, Richard Gabriel, who married Anne de Gerecourt, heiress of one of the oldest houses of Lorraine. The title of Count de Gerecourt was granted to him at Versailles in 1683.

(in the maternal line), who had a tragic end during a visit to England in December 1933. The father of the Duc de Tremouille was author of " Une famille royaliste irlandaise et le prince Charles-Edouard " (Nantes 1901).

WALSH, ANTONY VINCENT (1ST EARL WALSH), naval officer and shipowner. Uncle of preceding. Born at Saint Malo on 18 January 1703. Son of Philip Walsh (*See* WALSH, PHILIP) and Anne White. After spending some years in the French naval service he settled as a shipbuilder at Nantes, where he became one of its wealthy citizens. In 1745 he was approached by Lord Clare, Commander of the Irish Brigade, regarding the prospective Jacobite Rising in Scotland. As a result Walsh undertook, with the co-operation of two other Irishmen, Rutledge of Dunkirk and O'Hegarty of Paris, to convey Prince Charles Edward to that country in his own (Walsh's) brig the " Doutelle ", a vessel of 18 guns. Walsh was one of the " Seven Men of Moidart " who accompanied the Prince. After safely landing him in Scotland, he returned to France and was rewarded by James III with an Irish earldom and a gold-hilted sword. Soon afterwards he was appointed by Louis XV to the command of an expedition that was to have landed eighteen battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry in Scotland, but the project was abandoned at news of the defeat at Culloden. In 1753 Walsh's pedigree and noble birth were recognised by the French king, and soon afterwards he went to St. Domingo to look after the family property in that island, where he died on 2 March 1763. Up to the time he left France he kept up a regular correspondence with Prince Charles and with the two Irish Jacobites, Colonel Richard Warren and George Kelly. (*See* WARREN, RICHARD and KELLY, GEORGE).

On 10 January 1741 Walsh married at Nantes Marie, daughter of Luke O'Shiel (*See* O'SHIEL, LUKE), by whom he had several children. His son Antony John, born at Nantes in 1745, succeeded him as 2nd Earl Walsh. In December 1772 the latter was appointed chamberlain to Marie Thérèse of Austria and was father of Vicomte Joseph Alexis Walsh. (*See* WALSH, JOSEPH ALEXIS).

WALSH, FRANCIS JAMES (1ST COUNT WALSH DE SERRANT), shipbuilder. Brother of preceding. Born at Saint Malo on 27 March 1704. Fourth son of Philip Walsh (*See* WALSH, PHILIP) and Anne White. He inherited a large fortune from his uncle Patrick White of Waterford, which he increased by going into business as a shipbuilder at Cadiz and engaging in the slave trade. In May 1743 he married in that city Mary, daughter of Thomas Harper of Harperstown, Co. Wexford. Six years later he purchased the beautiful Renaissance château of Serrant in Anjou. (The château is to-day one of the national monuments of France). In 1754 he obtained recognition of noble birth from Louis XV who, in the following

year, created hin Count de Serrant. After the death of his brother Antony Vincent in 1763 he acted as representative of Prince Charles Edward at the courts of France and Spain. He died at his château in Serrant on 20 August 1782.

By his marriage Count Walsh had several sons, the eldest of whom, Antony Joseph, succeeded him in his title. (*See* WALSH, ANTONY JOSEPH).

WALSH, JOHN BAPTIST, ecclesiastic. Born in 1750 in the diocese of Killaloe, he went in 1770 for his education to Paris where, having completed his studies at the Irish College, he obtained in 1779 the doctorate of the Sorbonne. Immediately afterwards he was appointed superior of the Irish College at Nantes, and in 1788 returned to Paris to become superior of the Collège des Lombards. In the following year the Revolution began, and for several years Dr. Walsh was to experience many vicissitudes. Early in 1790 the National Assembly decreed the confiscation of all church property in France. In August of that year he petitioned the Assembly to exempt the Irish College from the decree as it was Irish property. Three months later the exemption was granted. In the following year, when the college was the centre of much disturbance from Revolutionary mobs, who attacked those attending religious services in it, he appealed to the king and municipality for protection. Protection was granted, but a year later the Reign of Terror began ; the College was closed and a considerable number of the students returned home to Ireland. A certain number sympathised with the Revolution, remained in Paris and sent a statement to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in which they charged the administrators of the College, including Dr. Walsh, with hostility to the popular cause. Later Dr. Walsh was imprisoned on various charges, one of which was that he joined with the Abbé Edgeworth in a plot to rescue the king from gaol. With the passing of the Terror he was, however, released and he set out to save the property of the College. Having largely succeeded in this, he proceeded to the work of reopening the institution. In 1802 Napoleon authorised this step, and Dr. Walsh was re-appointed the superior of the College in the Rue des Irlandais. But fresh difficulties arose after some time when charges of misappropriation of funds were made against him. Much intriguing was carried on to oust him from his office, and in 1813 the ex-priest Richard Ferris supplanted him. (*See* FERRIS, RICHARD). Dr. Walsh retired to the Collège des Lombards, where he resided till his death in 1825.

WALSH, JOSEPH ALEXIS (VISCOUNT), author and journalist. Born on 25 April 1782 at Angers. Son of Antony John, 2nd Earl Walsh. (*See* WALSH, ANTONY JOHN). A zealous royalist, his father joined the émigrés after the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 and settled at Liége. Joseph Alexis was educated at the Jesuit College in that town, where he devoted

himself to literary studies. Returning to France after the Peace of Amiens in 1802, he was appointed " Inspecteur de la Librairie " in Brittany and La Vendée. He filled this office till the early days of the Bourbon restoration, and after its abolition he was appointed royal commissioner at the Mint in Nantes. Later he received the post of Director of the postal department at the same city. He resigned this office in 1830, being unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to Louis Philippe. He died in 1860, leaving three sons, one of whom, Edward, became the 4th Earl Walsh, while another was chamberlain to Napoleon III.

Viscount Walsh was a prolific writer, and among his chief published works are " Lettres Vendéenes " (Paris 1825) ; " La Fratricide—chronique du XV siècle" (Paris 1827) ; " Exploration de Normandie " (Paris 1835) ; " Souvenirs de cinquante ans." He was editor-in-chief of the " Gazette de Normandie ", co-editor of " L'Encyclopédie Catholique " and a frequent contributor to Catholic reviews.

WALSH, PHILIP, shipbuilder and corsair. Great-grand-father of preceding. Born at Dublin and baptised in Saint Catherine's Church in that city on 8 December 1666. Son of James Walsh (of Ballynacooly in the Walsh mountains, barony of Iverk, Co. Kilkenny), described as " an Irish gentleman of ancient and honourable descent ", who was commander of the ship which brought James II to France after the battle of the Boyne.

Philip Walsh, who settled at Saint Malo in 1685, was the founder of the notable Franco-Irish family which for two hundred and fifty years has played a varied rôle in the history of France. He engaged in shipbuilding at Saint Malo where he constructed several men-of-war for the French government, while he further added to his fortune by privateering and engaging in the slave trade. M. Gaston Martin in his work " L'Ere des Negriers ", referring to the Walsh family of Nantes, writes : " They sold a sufficient number of negroes to enable them to regild and legalise their Irish coat-of-arms, which was a little tarnished by the somewhat dubious trade in which Philip, the real founder of the dynasty, was engaged." In January 1708, when acting as captain in a French man-of-war, Philip Walsh engaged a Dutch vessel which he captured after a strenuous fight. Compelled to put into Madagascar to refit, he died suddenly in that island.

In 1695 Philip Walsh married at Saint Malo Anne White of Waterford, by whom he had five sons : James who died young ; Patrick (Chevalier Walsh de Chasseron) ; Antony Vincent (1st Earl Walsh) ; Francis James (1st Count Walsh de Serrant) ; and Philip who settled as a shipbuilder at Cadiz. These were the ancestors of the numerous branches of the family which is still represented in France.

RICHARD HAYES

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

LXXXIII

To Roalbh Mág Mathghamhna (st. 18, etc.). Donnchadh and Gráinne (st. 45) are probably his father and mother. A Roalbh (i.e. Rollo, Raoul, etc.) Mág Mathghamhna is mentioned in the Annals with his obit. 1314. As the name was an uncommon one among the Mág Mathghamhna family—it does not occur at all in the genealogies of Ó Clery. and Mac Firbis—this person is most likely to be the subject of the poem. The authorship of the poem is uncertain. Two MSS. (A iv 3, 23 F 16) give Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe as the author. If, as seems likely, he lived in the early thirteenth century he can hardly have written the poem. In the three other MSS. which contain the poem the author is given as Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn, but none of the poets named Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn of whom there is any record (cf. TD ii 321) can have been living in 1314.

One might perhaps gather from the poem that Roalbh was himself a poet.

1. Iongnadh mh'aisling i n-Eamhain
i madain chiuin chéideamhain ;
a-tá sí gá dhearbhadh damh
ní nach dearnadh do dhéanamh.

2. Téighim lá d'fhéachain Eamhna,
fa cuairt aoibhinn oireaghdha,
do ba céilidhe suairc sain,
séimhidhe ar gcuairt don chathraigh.

3. Suidhim i n-Eamhain uaine
i múr Mhacha Mongruaidhe
san ráith i raibhe Mumhain,
baile cáich is Chonchubhair.

4. Goirid beag do bhádhas ann
go dtáinig codladh chugam
fam shúil gur thuit toirrchim suain
ar chlúimh bruit oirrchinn fhionnfhuair.

5. An suan trom n-ar thuit sinne
do-chonnarc ann aislinge ;
do-chím aingeal Dé dom dheis
an té ar nar cailleadh cairdis

6. Do-chonnarc don taoibh a-dtuaidh
go hEamhain Macha marcshluaigh ;
bán gach learg glan dá ngreaghaibh,
dearg gach magh dá meirgeadhaibh.

7. " Cúich an sluagh mórsa san magh "
ar meise ann rem apsdal
" gríos a n-aighthe geal a ngruaidh
ó ghraifne mhear a marcshluaigh."

8. " Meic ríogh shíl Eoghain Oiligh
do-chiu uaim dot ionnsoighidh ;
ceannas gach críche is dual dáibh
an sluagh ad-chíthe id chomhdháil."

9. Cúich an sluagh neartmharso a-noir
i moigh Eamhna go hEamhoin,
sódh catha go gcléith oraibh
sgéith datha ar a ndromanuibh.

10. Lann chumhdaigh ar chrios gach fhir,
sleagha gairthe re a nguaillibh,
meirge chuanna ar gach cleith chuirr,
is guala a heich re a horluinn.

11. Leomhain fhear n-Éireann uile
an sluagh mórsoin mhothuighe,
meic ríogh Uladh is Ulaidh,
síol an churadh Conchubhair.

12. Cia an ríoghraidhse riom a-ndeas
go ráith Eamhna na n-éigeas,
mar badh buaile a haithle a hoir
gach faithche uaine um Eamhain.

13. Mar thuinn gcuain re colbha cloch
mar ghaoith re doire ndarach,
torann shróill dheirggil dhualaigh
an tshlóigh mheirgigh mharcshluaghaigh.

14. Cath oirthir Eamhna Macha
na sluaigh dhathta dhíomsacha
lucht danab dual meanma mhear
sluagh na hEamhna i ngurt Ghaoidheal.

15. Cúich an sluagh nuaidheise a-niar
dá gcois go hEamhain n-Oirghiall,
a dhaoine 's gan é um fharradh
is é as chaoimhe ad-chonncamar.

16. Sluagh as mhó dá bhfaca fear
gan d'arm acht fleasga fileadh
sgiamh uaille orra uile
donna uaine a n-éaduighe.

17. Saorchlanna an bhuidhean fhuil ann
fir do Thuathaibh Dé Dhanann,
sgola suadh mbánfhuinn Bhanbha
an sluagh áluinn allmhurdha.

18. Saor an fear re bhfuilid chois
Roalbh Cluana craobh Dhurlais,
bróg dhruimneach ag díon Bhanbha
do shíol mhuirneach Mhathghamhna.

19. Fiach a ríoghtha um rígh Duibhe
éigse Innse Laoghuire,
flaith roBhanbha ní daor dáibh
saor an comhardha conáigh.

20. Do ríoghsat dámha an domhain
Roalbh ó ráith Chonchobhair,
cuan ag líonadh trágha a dtairm
na dámha ag ríoghadh Roailbh.

21. Tig go ráith Eamhna is é a theagh
géag Bhanna na bhfleasg bhfileadh
ar n-eagar cháich ar an gcarn
leagar an ráith do Roalbh.

22. Comhroichid na ceithre sluaigh
i n-aonach Eamhna i n-aonuair ;
do bhí ar n-a ar d'aithle a ngreagh
gach magh ó ghraifne a ngroigheadh.

23. Do sáitheadh urlonna a n-arm
san ráith n-ar ríoghadh Roalbh,
na ceathra sluaigh n-a suidhe
fa sduaigh Ceachna i gcomhnuidhe.

24. Ríoghaid n-a dhiaidh flaith Foghair
Roalbh ó ráith Chonchobhair ;
slat ar n-a sníomh um ursain
gach mac ríogh fan Roalbhsoin.

25. Gabhaid éigis Innse Fáil
dhuain gach fhir d'onchoin Iomdháin,
ní mé an fear narbh éigios ann
nír léigios an seal seocham.

26. Do-chuadhas i gceann nduaine
dar leam do fhlaith Chraobhruaidhe;
a mholadh féin ar gach bhfear
omhan don chléir do cheilfeadh.

27. Ó Charn Í Neid nuaidhe an clár
Éire Chuinn go Cloich Sdócán
ní fhuighe ón Chloich gus an gCarn
duine tar nach roich Roalbh.

28. Cách do mheas is meinic linn
nocha breath bhréige bheirim
toghaim fear as mheasda i meidh
(an mheadh) mheasda do mhaithibh.

29. Ní thabhair onóir d'ollumh
Gaoidheal maith nar mheasamar,
mor n-uair téighiom dhá dtuilmheas
sluaigh Éirionn do athchuingheas.

30. Tugas cuairt Mumhan a-muigh,
do aigillios chloinn gCarthuigh,
do bhá i gCliaigh na ríogh roimhe
eidir shíol mBriain Bhóroimhe.

31. Do shireas Laighin a-le,
do iarras maithe Midhe;
cuairt Chonnacht ar gcoill thoraidh
do-chonnarc chloinn gConchobhair.

32. Do aithin mé móide a mbladh
Connachtaigh Cóigeadh Uladh,
do mheasas go léir Leath Cuinn
gach neach fa a mhéin do mheasuinn.

33. A ndearna thiar agus thoir
do mhaithibh Éireann d'iarraidh
ní fhéad duine a fheithimh orm
acht beithir Ruidhe Roalbh.

34. Tánag i dtimcheall Bhanbha
fa nós mheic Mhéig Mhathghamhna
mar shin laoi a soaimsir soin
gnaoi an Roailbhsin do rochtain.

35. Is iad míorbhaile as mhó dhi
gidh mór fearta na féile
cliar gach dhuine mhaith dar mharbh
ag guidhe raith do Roalbh.

36. Ní h-aisg do dhuine ar domhan
fear a fhéile d'adhmholadh ;
a námha nochan aith orm
maith do rádha le Roalbh.

37. Nocha gráinne nar ghabh gort
anocht do chliaraibh Connacht
síol gCréidhe nachar cháin neach ;
do bháidh a fhéile a n-eineach.

38. A chlú do-chuaidh tar a mbladh,
do chinn a ágh a n-eangnamh ;
do fhill mar sin cath ar chách,
a rath do chinn a gconách.

39. Do throid ris ní racha fear
—cóir an teine do theicheadh ;
nocha chiall aghadh ar arm,
nochar lamhadh riamh Roalbh.

40. An dtugadh do neach fo nimh
a thuile áigh nó einigh ?
cia fa mhaoil uaibh ná fa fholt
fuair a bhfuair dh'aoibh ná d'umhlocht ?

41. An crodh ag caitheamh an fhoinn
feirrde fás feoir an fhearoinn ;
fréamh chroinn ar n-a bhuain a bun
budh coill ar n-uair a ionadh.

42. Budh saidhbhride seabhac Fáil
cách ag caithiomh a chonáigh ;
ní gnáth tacha clach ar charn,
ní racha a rath do Roalbh.

43. Ní racha a dhealbh dá dhreich ghloin
re haghaidh creach ná cogaidh ;
ríoghna Oirghiall do aidhbhsigh
foirniamh ríoghdha an Roailbhsin.

44. Mór d'ingheanaibh le budh áil
mealladh an déidghil dreachnáir ;
tearc bean budh beithte n-a thigh ;
is feithte teagh ar theinidh.

45. Casdar ciabh caoltar mala
le mnaoi go mac nDonnchadha ;
do mhac Gráinne do bhí bean
ar tí láimhe do láisdeadh.

46. Do clos fan dtuaisgeart a thairm,
eas abhann réidhe Roailbh ;
torann a áigh nochan fhan,
a ghráin is abhann iongnadh.

Iongnadh

Translation.

1. Strange the vision I had in Eamhain one calm May morning ; it showed me something happening which never happened.
2. I went forth to view Eamhain, a pleasant splendid visit ; a happy sojourn was my quiet visit to that city.
3. I sat down in green Eamhain, in the Fort of red-haired Macha, in the palace where was Mumhain, in the dwelling-place of Conchobhar and his folk.
4. A short time was I there when sleep came to me, a heavy slumber came on my eyes reclining on the soft surface of a cloak, a cool covering.
5. In that heavy sleep wherein I fell I saw a vision, I saw on my right-hand the Angel of God with whom friendly acts (?) failed not.
6. I saw troops coming from the North to Eamhain Macha ; glittering was every bright hill-side with their steeds, red every plain with their banners.
7. " What is this great troop coming into the plain " said I to my apostle, " a fire in their looks, a flush on their cheeks from the quick rushing of their battalion."
8. " Princes of the race of Eoghan of Oileach (i.e. Í Néill) I see approaching thee ; to rule all lands is the right of those forces thou seest coming towards thee."
9. " What is that strong force from the East coming over Eamhain Plain to Eamhain, the march of a well-arrayed troop with coloured shields on their backs.
10. " An ornamented blade at each soldier's belt, burnished spears on their shoulders, a beautiful banner is on stout pole and a horse's shoulder beside its shaft."
11. " Lionlike men of all Eire are the great host thou perceivest, the princes of the Ulaidh, and the Ulaidh themselves race of the hero Conchobhar."
12. " Who are the princes coming hither from the South to the Fort of Eamhain of the poets ? Every green field around Eamhain is like a cattle-field ploughed up (by marching soldiers).
13. " As waves of a bay beating against a bulwark of rocks, or as the wind blowing on an oak-grove is the noise of the bright-red waving satin of the bannered cavalry."
14. " Those Eastern troops of Eamhain Macha are the gaily-coloured proud-stepping battalions, the folk whose spirit is swift and lofty, the army of Eamhain on the battle-field of the Gaoidhil."
15. " What is this fresh force from the West marching to Eamhain of the Oirghialla ? O friends, though it is far off from me, it is, I think, the grandest I have ever seen.

16. " It is the biggest troop that ever any man has seen, it has as weapons nothing but poets' wands ; they have all a splendid proud presence ; dark-green are their garments."

17. Noble folk compose that band there, the men of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, the schools of the sages of Banbha's fair land, the beautiful host from over the sea.

18. Noble is the hero with whom they are marching, Roalbh of Cluain, Branch of Durlas, (hero of the) crumpled shoe who guards Banbha, (a man) of the loving race of Mathghamhain.

19. Around that King of the Dubh stand the poets of Laoghaire's Isle, the price (i.e. a testimony to the importance) of his crowning ; in their eyes the Prince of great Banbha is no common man ; noble the sign of his greatness.

20. The poets of the world have crowned as king this Roalbh from Conchobhar's Fort ; the sound of the poets acclaiming him was as the sea rushing in on a strand.

21. The Prince of the Banna with his poets' wands came to Eamhain Fort, it is his real home ; when they had all assembled on that height, they hand over the fort to Roalbh.

22. The four hosts arrive together on the fair-ground of Eamhain ; after the galloping of their steeds the fields looked as though ploughed up.

23. They drove the shafts (?) of their spears into the fort where Roalbh was crowned ; the four hosts now are for ever seated around that Pillar of Ceachna.

24. Then they named as their king the Prince of Foghar, Roalbh from the Fort of Conchobhar ; each prince around Roalbh was as a withy twisted round a doorpost.

25. The poets of Inis Fáil then composed, each of them, a poem to the Wolf of Iomdhán ; I too was a poet there, I let not the time pass by me unused.

26. It seemed to me (in my dream) that I proceeded to compose a poem to the Prince of the Craobhruaidhe. Each hero wants his own praises sung and 'tis a danger for a poet to refuse.

27. In all Conn's Éire, from Carn Í Neid that bright spot, to Cloch Sdócán, you can not find from the Cloch to the Carn a man whom Roalbh does not surpass.

28. I am often appraising folk (in poetry) and I never give false judgement ; I choose some man to be weighed in the balance, the balance for the judging of nobles.

29. The good Gaoidheal on whom we (poets) have not passed judgement (i.e. no good Gaoidheal) fails to honour an *ollumh* ; I often grow warm (with enthusiasm) when giving judgement on the hosts of Éire whom I have called up for judgement.

30. I have gone the round of Mumha, I have conversed with Clann Carthaigh, I have been in Cliu of the Kings among the race of Brian Bóroimhe.

31. I have searched through Laighin and have sought out the nobles of Midhe ; visiting Connachta at the fall of the fruit, I have examined Clann Chonchobhair.

32. I have appreciated the men of Connachta and the Province of the Ulaidh, I have examined the whole of Leath Cuinn, and I have judged everyone according to his character.

33. No man except the Bear of Ruidhe, Roalbh, can prevent me from (?) examining into what has become of (?) each of the nobles of Éire, East and West.

34. I have gone round all Banbha trusting to the glory of the son of Mág Mathghamhna ; . . . (?) that glorious time of Roalbh's acquisition of glory.

35. Great as have been the miracles of generosity wrought in the world, its greatest miracle is that the poets of the nobles slain by Roalbh are now praying blessings on him.

36. 'Tis no reproach to any man that a man should praise his generosity ; Roalbh's foe, therefore, will not blame me for speaking well of him.

37. A grain which has sent forth good fruit (i.e. material for eulogy, etc.) today for all the poet-bands of Connachta is the generosity of the blameless race of Créidh ; it has overwhelmed their (Connachta's) deeds of honour.

38. His glory has gone beyond their fame, his fortune has proved greater than their splendid deeds, his prosperity has exceeded their great resources—thus has he won the conflict with them all.

39. No man will advance to fight him—one must fly from fire ! Never was Roalbh faced in conflict—'tis folly to rush on a sword !

40. Was ever given to mortal Roalbh's flood of fortune and honour? Which of you, tonsured or not, got favour or obedience as he did?

41. Cattle grazing a field make its grass grow the better; when a tree's root is dug up from the bottom a wood takes its place.

42. Richer grows the Hawk of Fál for the number who spend his wealth; if stones are wanting there can be no mound, and so prosperity can never leave Roalbh!

43. Unmoved his countenance before raid or battle. Roalbh's kingly beauty renders still more charming Oirghialla's princesses (by making them smile etc.).

44. Many the maiden who would fain charm the white-toothed noble-faced hero; only a few women may be in his house—a house must be guarded against fire!

45. Hair is plaited, eye-brow is thinned, by each lady as she visits the son of Donnchadh; some lady is always ready to wash the hand of Gráinne's son.

46. Like a waterfall is Roalbh's generosity; his fame is known throughout the North; the noise of his battling never ceases, the terror he inspires is as a wondrous great river.

NOTES

MSS: A iv 3, 709 (A); 23 F 16, 146 (F); F vi 2, 242 (X); 23 G 23, 73; 23 N 15, 163.

1*c*. dhamh AF *d*. ndea. AF 2*c*. sin AF 3*b*. mho. A *c*. san cha. F *d*. Co. AF 4*d*. brait AF 5*c*. dhes A, dheais F *d*. -deas A, -deais F; do be mo dhaingion dileis X 6*b*. mhacha A 7*b*. risin A *c*. gruadh A *d*. mear A 8*a*. shiol A *c*. as AF *d*. ad AF 9*b*. a moi. A *c*. orraibh A 10*d*. sgu. A, is guala eaich F 11*a*. -mhan AF *d*. cho. AF 13*a*. chuain AF 14*b*. dhata A *d*. a ngu. A 15*b*. Oirgh. AF *d*. ca. AF 16*a*. mo AF 17*c*. bhan. AF 18*b*. du A *d*. mu. ma. A 21*c*. ca. A 23*c*. ceithre A *d*. chea. AF 24*c*. orrsain A 25*c*. -is A *d*. -is A 26*a*. du. AF *c*. fear A 27*b*. Coinn A *c*. gcloich A 28*a*. as AF *c*. mea. AF; a me. AF *d*. a meidh A, a mheadh F; measda AF 29*c*, teighim A, theaigim F *d*. -ghis A 30*b*. -llis A *d*. Bhriain AF 31*c*. Con. AF 32*c*. Coinn A *d*. -ssoinn A 34*b*. mc A, mheaic F 35*a*. mo AF *c*. duine AF 36*b*. daghmh. A 37*c*. -ghi A 39*c*. tar arm 40*c*. no fa F *d*. no dumh. F 41*b*. fheoir A *c*. croinn AF 43*c*. aibhs. AF 44*c*. beitti A, beaithe F *d*. as feiti A, as feaithte F 45*c*. mc gr. A 46*d*. as AF.

MAURICE LENIHAN: HISTORIAN OF LIMERICK

BY FRANCIS FINEGAN, S.J.

PART III*

SHORTLY before Lenihan became a member of the corporation, a movement was initiated to erect a memorial to Daniel O'Connell in Limerick. Lenihan as an old admirer and personal friend of O'Connell naturally threw himself with a will into the movement; and in his newspaper he reminded his readers that Mr. Bianconi, while on a recent visit to Rome, had erected a commemorative tablet on the site where O'Connell's heart was buried, and urged his countrymen not to be outdone in generosity at home in Ireland. But while the movement to have O'Connell worthily commemorated was cumberously getting under way, another committee with apparently unlimited financial resources made a daring attempt to have erected in the Crescent a statue to commemorate a soldier, Lord Fitzgibbon, who was killed in the recent battle of Balaklava. The Fitzgibbon memorial committee actually secured this site from the corporation, although Fitzgibbon's memory possessed no claims to so signal an honour from the citizens of Limerick. There does not seem to have been any positive ill-will against the character of the dead man. His family name was, however, tainted; for he was the son of John Fitzgibbon, first Earl of Clare, the too willing and efficient tool of Pitt in the achievement of the legislative union of 1800. There were Limerick folk still living to whom the sinister name was more than a mere memory.

The members of the O'Connell memorial committee now discovered, to their chagrin, that the best site in Limerick was to be set aside for a statue of a member of the detested family. Lenihan was one of the secretaries of the new committee, and he spared no pains in giving the Fitzgibbon project the fullest publicity in his own newspaper. There were angry debates in the council room of the corporation. Members of the Fitzgibbon memorial committee moved a resolution in the corporation that the Crescent site be retained for their purpose in view of the Council's previous authorisation and added this 'patriotic' rider: "That this council sympathises fully and deeply with the gallant and glorious conduct of Lord Fitzgibbon and the men of Limerick and Clare who fell *in their country's cause* and in the defence of the peace of Europe and the liberty of the world." The great majority of the city fathers, however, were now wiser men than when they first allowed themselves to be stampeded over this Fitzgibbon memorial; so they rejected the resolution and henceforth the Crescent site was secured for the O'Connell memorial.

* For Parts I and II see issues of September 1946 and March 1947.

The inauguration of the O'Connell statue took place on the 15 August 1857. Judging by the press reports of the time, it was a gala day for Limerick. O'Connell admirers were present in their thousands from all over Munster. For many it was their first experience of a journey on the recently constructed railroads. Lenihan, as a committee member, was accorded one of the places of honour in the ceremony of inauguration. The press of Dublin gave a generous share of print in writing-up the event.

Limerick of the period in which these events were taking place presents a strange contrast to Limerick today—in one respect at least. I mean the language question. Irish was heard in the market place ; and in the court-house an interpreter was still required to translate, for the legal man, the statements of many of the country-folk during the sessions of the court. In the minute-book of the corporation, so late as 23 February 1860, we find the following entry : " Application read of John Roberts to be Irish interpreter at the Court House. Application was founded upon a certificate from Mr. Keogh going Judge of Assize and an appointment to the office by the late High Sherriff, but it was not entertained." It is peculiar that Lenihan has nothing to say in his Reminiscences concerning his own use of the Irish language ; yet it is practically certain that he was an Irish-speaker. Where he uses an Irish phrase, the orthography is unusual and such as to lead us to suspect that he had no reading knowledge of the language. In his later years, as we shall see, he advocated the teaching of Irish in the schools and universities. His interest in the Irish language never lapsed at any period of his life—not even during the period of his closest association with O'Connell. He mentions a visit to the veteran Gaelic scholar, Father Matt Horgan, in 1843 at Blarney, Co. Cork, but does not tell us in what medium the conversation was conducted. Throughout the Reminiscences we find frequent references to eminent Gaelic scholars of the late eighteenth century or early nineteenth centuries. His later open advocacy of the cause of the Irish language can possibly be traced to the influence of Eugene O'Curry. Lenihan first made the acquaintance of the great Gaelic scholar in 1852. O'Curry was then working on his edition of the Brehon Laws at Dr. Graves's rooms in Trinity College, Dublin. It was on the same occasion that Lenihan made the acquaintance of Dr. Petrie. " Between that year and the year 1862," he writes, " I had frequent opportunities of seeing and corresponding with O'Curry. Whenever I visited Dublin I embraced the occasion of calling upon him ; he was very genial, good-humoured, full of anecdote that was racy of the soil . . . anxious to communicate as freely as possible all he knew of whatever subject on which enquiry was made to him."

Lenihan does not state when precisely he became interested in the history of his adopted city ; but there can be no doubt that O'Curry gave him encouragement to embark on the task. It is clear from the early numbers of the *Limerick Reporter* that Lenihan had taken up the study

of Irish History. His first idea of a History of Limerick was limited in scope. He made a study of the last sieges, as he tells us in his preface, and published the fruits of his study in serial form. After completing this work, he began to entertain the idea of publishing a History of Limerick from the earliest times. It is certain that, before O'Curry's death in 1862, Lenihan had read widely and collected much matter for his complete History of Limerick. Mgr. O'Reardon says that the work took five years of incessant labour. His Sundays were spent in the country copying inscriptions on tombstones and collecting folklore and general information bearing upon the subject. And yet at this busy period of his life, he found time to interest himself and the citizens of Limerick in the question of recognition by the British Parliament of the recently founded Catholic University of Ireland.

The Catholic University of Ireland had been founded ten years previously, but was unrecognised by the government. Lenihan was deeply conscious of the long-standing grievance of discrimination, in the matter of higher education, against the Catholic laity at a date thirty years after the granting of Catholic Emancipation ; and in the columns of the *Reporter and Vindicator* he presented, with his matchless vigour and enthusiasm, the case for the recognition of the Catholic University. At a meeting of the corporation, 13 February 1862, he gave notice of a motion to be debated : " That a memorial from this council be presented to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, expressive of the opinion of this council in favour of the grant by Government of a Charter for the Catholic University of Ireland." The motion passed unanimously, and every Protestant in the council supported it by his vote. Lenihan and five other members of the Corporation were appointed to prepare the address. When the address received the approbation of the Council, a deputation—including the Mayor (Mr. Lane Joynt), the proposer (Lenihan), the seconder and three others—was chosen to present the memorial to the Viceroy. On their arrival in Dublin the members of the deputation were entertained at a banquet given in their honour by the Rector of the University, Most Rev. Dr. Woodlock. Next day, Lady Day, the members of the deputation were presented to the Viceroy. Lenihan says that he gave anything but a favourable reply. The text of the Viceroy's reply disguised all too thinly the scant courtesy with which he received the deputation.

The Corporation of Limerick next decided, by a unanimous vote, to attend the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the new University buildings and travelled to Dublin for the event, which took place with great solemnity on July 20, 1862. Lenihan had special reason for his enthusiasm in the cause of a University whose name will always be associated with that of Cardinal Newman. It was Newman who discovered the genius of the great Eugene O'Curry, and it was almost natural for Lenihan to feel an interest in the cause of the University that could boast

of a scholar of O'Curry's stature. It was at the ceremony of the foundation stone that Lenihan met O'Curry for the last time. He recalled that O'Curry and himself sat together at the banquet which followed the ceremonies ; and before returning to Limerick, he received an invitation to spend an evening at O'Curry's home. " It was an agreeable evening indeed," he says, " though I saw that my gifted friend was somewhat exhausted after his hard day's work and thought his spirits were depressed. He zealously urged me to persevere in my then projected History of Limerick . . . . He felt much interest in my sketches of the last sieges as they appeared in the *Reporter and Vindicator* ; and, if through post office delay or other lapse, a number did not duly reach its destination, he lost no time in acquainting me with the fact and in expressing a desire of the missing copy. He contributed a very interesting passage from the Book of Lecan as to the origin of the name of Limerick, of which I availed myself cheerfully and thankfully and the manuscript of which, written in Irish with a translation in his own clear and admirable hand, I carefully preserved." A fortnight later Eugene O'Curry died.

The " History of Limerick "

The history of the last sieges, as it appeared in weekly instalments of the *Limerick Reporter*, required long and careful preparation on Lenihan's part. But more was required than long and careful preparation when he started on the early history of Limerick. He was sufficiently aware of the pitfalls into which an amateur like himself might stumble in so difficult a part of the work, so he looked for advice and guidance from O'Curry, a master in this department of Irish history. We of the twentieth century appreciate O'Curry for his lasting worth as an archaeologist and master of Celtic studies, yet the fact remains that in his lifetime he was far from receiving the recognition that was due to his genius. The great Newman, alone of the scholars of the day, recognised the genius of O'Curry. For most of his life in Dublin O'Curry was employed as an ' assistant editor ' who did the spade-work in rediscovering the genuine text of ancient MSS., while others took all the credit that was alone O'Curry's due. It required acumen on Lenihan's part to see through the propaganda of silence waged by aspiring ' intellectuals ' whose reputation for Irish scholarship rested on the achievements of O'Curry but who refused to acknowledge their indebtedness.

It would be rash to deny that Lenihan's *History of Limerick* taken as a whole is free from error. Indeed the wonder is that Lenihan did not fall into more errors than he actually did. In his use of sources he might well have dispensed with the works of Macaulay. Thus, Macaulay's picturesque fable of the women of Limerick fighting during the siege finds its way into Lenihan's work. Again, the episode of Vereker's

" strategic retreat " at Colooney is described in all the fanciful detail of the fable that it is. Unfortunately, Lenihan's words on the matter have been reprinted—often word for word—in many local histories. There are other errors as well; yet, when the vastness of the work is considered, it is remarkable how few they are. It is true that the book is hardly notable for its good order; but for all that nothing is lost in the confusion. Everything worth knowing about Limerick from Adam to 1866 finds a place somewhere between the covers of his book. Occasionally, in his presentation of some historical episode, Lenihan wanders off to impart some personal reminiscence of his own to the reader. Yet, perhaps, this very discursiveness is just one of the qualities that give his book its enduring charm. The outstanding fault of the *History* consists in the attempt to crowd so much matter into so small a space—though the book, strictly speaking, cannot be said to be a small book. The suggestion of presenting the story of Limerick in one volume rather than two came from Lenihan's lifelong friend Archbishop Leahy of Cashel. The Archbishop's letter can still be read in the Scrapbook: " If possible, let not your work exceed one volume 8vo. Two volumes would never pay. You must have a good idea of the expense of bringing out two volumes respectably—something, I suppose, between five and seven hundred pounds according to the style of bringing out"

In collecting materials for his history, he was particularly fortunate in his discovery of the Arthur MS. (The Arthur MS. is the fee-book of a Catholic physician, Dr. Thomas Arthur, a graduate of Paris University, who practised medicine from 1619 until 1663. The diary, which is in Latin, was published in part by Lenihan in the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, 1867). This document is an invaluable source of social history of the period not only for Limerick. Unfortunately, owing to straitened circumstances in his later years, Lenihan was reluctantly compelled to sell this and other valuable MS. materials for his projected histories of Clare and Tipperary. The *History of Limerick*, on its first appearance, was hailed by many eminent scholars as an authoritative work. The current learned reviews in England and Ireland acknowledged its impartiality. A generous share of the costs of publication was met by the long list of subscribers whose names are tabulated at the end of the book; but the author must have found himself considerably out of pocket as the result of the poor demand for the book. For three years at least after the *History* appeared, an advertisement of two columns giving excerpts of the reviews was published in almost every number of the *Limerick Reporter*. In his correspondence with Father Meehan and Prendergast (author of the *Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland*) he complains that his book was eagerly read but not bought. Lenihan was never in affluent circumstances; and it should be borne in mind that, at the time of the first appearance of the

History of Limerick, he had to earn his daily bread as a journalist and to provide for the education of a family of eight or nine children.

It is sometimes said that a great portion of Lenihan's *History of Limerick* is that of another writer, and the name of Thomas Stanley Tracey is mentioned as being that of the real author. This objection against Lenihan's authorship need not be taken seriously. There is no mystery about the name of Thomas Tracey. He graduated a B.A. of Trinity College in 1841 and became a journalist. For many years he occupied the post of sub-editor to the *Limerick Reporter*. Lenihan quite openly admits his obligations to Tracey. In the Preface he states : " In translation, research, revision and, generally, literary assistance I have enjoyed the constant, efficient and friendly aid of Thomas S. Tracey, B.A., who was conveniently near me."

Two explanations can be assigned for the propagation of this legend of dual authorship. In the first place, the fact that Tracey was a university graduate impressed people at a time when few Catholics possessed a university degree. To this it may be answered that Lenihan, though prevented from receiving the benefit of a university training because of his faith, had probably had quite as good an education as Tracey. There is the added consideration that, if Tracey wrote a considerable part of the book, it is matter for wonder that he did not protest when his name did not appear on the title-page as that of co-author. The second source of the legend can certainly be traced to Michael Hogan. Hogan was the author of a number of scurrilous pamphlets under the name " Seán na Scuab," which were directed against the members of the Limerick Corporation. These pamphlets are long since out of print and deservedly so. The story of Hogan's grievances against the Corporation is too well known to be repeated. But however justified his grievances, no admirer of Hogan can defend a work which offends against justice and charity. Lenihan's *History* had been published only two or three years when Hogan started writing this series of pamphlets. As a member of the corporation and as a defender of the Liberal candidates against Sir Peter Tait and a Fenian candidate at the elections of 1868, Lenihan came under Hogan's displeasure. Hogan represented Lenihan in these pamphlets as the son of a tinker from Cork, a servant in Carlow College, a man who caused trouble between a bishop and his clergy, an adventurer who sought refuge in Limerick where he cogged somebody's history. Public opinion was not influenced by such wild and unfounded statements.

Elections of 1868 and Michael Hogan

Elections of members of Parliament were arranged for November 1868. Gladstone was seeking a mandate for the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland. The Liberal candidates for Limerick were Francis William Russell and Major George Gavin. Both these candidates

had openly pledged themselves to support Gladstone's Disestablishment Bill, and it was taken almost for granted that no other candidate would take the field against them. The Mayor, Sir Peter Tait, who had been absent from the city since the previous March, to the consternation of many proposed to go forward as a candidate. Tait, who had been a very popular employer in Limerick, stood a reasonable chance of being elected. He was known however to be a conservative in politics, and at once the Liberal policy supporters became alarmed. He was joined in opposition to the Liberals by a young journalist from Dublin who edited a paper, *The Irishman,* which strongly supported the Fenians. On the face of things, it was a strange election contest: Conservative and Fenian *versus* Liberals. The secret ballot act was not yet in existence and elections were disorderly in consequence. The Limerick elections of 1868 were no exception to the rule, and in the demonstrations that occurred one life was lost. The Liberal candidates were elected with 1,026 votes for Gavin and 794 for Russell. The popularity of Tait may be estimated from the fact that he came a close third to Russell with 720 votes. The Fenian candidate got poor support with only 187. The Conservative and Fenian candidates immediately entered a plea that the Liberals won by wholesale bribery and corruption. A commission was appointed to inquire into the charges and commenced its sessions on January 19th, with Lord Justice Fitzgerald as chairman. After a lengthy examination of the evidence for both sides, the judge declared that the Liberal candidates were duly elected. The findings of the court indicated that if the Liberals were to blame, the opposing candidates were no less blameworthy.

Meantime the growing unpopularity of Tait was shown by a resolution passed at a public meeting of the citizens on St. Stephen's day 1868. "We on the part of the burgesses beg respectfully to bring under your notice the following resolution which was passed unanimously at a public meeting convened at the city Court House by the (acting) Mayor on Saturday last 26/XII/'68: 'That we indignantly protest against the conduct of Sir Peter Tait in tampering with the civic chain of our time-honoured city and that we call on the Corporation to replace at once the links of our most respected Mayors in that position from which they were so unwarrantably removed by the Champion of Tory Ascendancy'." This address of the citizens to the Corporation was read at a council meeting on New Year's day 1869. Sir Peter Tait had evidently decided to leave Limerick, as his business was not prospering, and in the course of the past year had been preparing for new financial ventures in Leeds and London. He wished however to leave some memorial of his connection with Limerick and, in commemoration of his triple term of office as Mayor, he decided to insert a large medallion in the civic chain. The insertion of the medallion required some change of the rings of former Mayors. He did this without any authorization of the corporation or the

citizens of the city. A resolution of the corporation then notified Tait that a medallion was inserted only for some remarkable corporate event—as, for instance, the formation of the Reformed Corporation of 1840—and that he was asked to present in place of the medallion one or three rings of the same pattern as those affixed by all the former Mayors. Tait refused to consider the proposal, and about three weeks later the City Treasurer was instructed to return the medallion to Tait. Two further attempts were made by the corporation to have Tait reconsider his decision, but Tait refused to have any other memorial of his mayoralty inserted in the civic chain except the medallion.

Lenihan, as might be expected, took no small part in the preceding events, the 1868 election and the affair of the Tait medal. His newspaper editorials gave his fullest support to the Liberals ; and he seems to have taken an active part in the election meetings at the hustings, if we are to take Michael Hogan's word for it. Needless to say his political activities annoyed Hogan, who made capital out of Lenihan's past political errors. It cannot be denied that Lenihan had made at least one grave mistake when he supported the candidature of James Sadlier in Tipperary about sixteen years previously. Sadlier, as it is well known, broke faith with his constituents and accepted office as a Junior Lord of the Treasury under the Liberal administration of the time. Lenihan in due course admitted that he had been deceived by Sadlier, as had many others, and the readers of the *Limerick Reporter* accepted his explanation. Lenihan's past defence of Sadlier now proved an easy target for Hogan, and some of the most caustic lines of " Seán na Scuab " deal with this incident. Hogan however would have been better advised to have withheld some of the toothless adulation that he showered on his own friends ; for some twenty years later the young journalist who was defeated in the 1868 election took his place in the witness box of the Old Bailey, and the world then learned what manner of man was Richard Piggot the forger of the Parnell letters. In justice to Hogan, it must be said that he met with some cruel disappointments in life. Possibly he learned later that disappointment was never far distant from Lenihan's door even in the years when he was at the height of his success ; for it seems that Lenihan and Hogan became friends again. At least some of Hogan's verses began to appear again in the later numbers of the *Limerick Reporter*.

(To be continued)

FRANCIS FINEGAN

REVIEWS

Anthropology

AN AFRICAN ARISTOCRACY. Rank Among the Swazi. By Hilda Kuper. International African Institute. Oxford University Press. Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1947. 30s. net.

Readers who are familiar with the work of the American anthropologists of the Harvard School in Co. Clare will find this book, for all its very different subject, capable of arousing a similar absorbing interest. It appears in a series all the volumes in which seem to bid fair to become anthropological classics, and there could hardly be a better illustration of what modern field-anthropology can accomplish. The inspiration for this kind of work is largely American. Mrs. Kuper, herself a South African, mentions with approval Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture,* which appeared as recently as 1935 and set a standard for all future workers.

It was Mrs. Benedict who first developed the concept of " pattern," and this concept, combined with the insistence of the late Bronislaw Malinowski that societies should be studied in action, seems to have been the chief inspiration of Mrs. Kuper's work. There is undoubtedly a danger that the concept of " pattern " may lead to a certain exaggeration, especially if applied in too personal a fashion (as is the case, for example, with some of Mrs. Margaret Mead's " emotional " evaluations). Nevertheless it has the immense advantage that for the first time it enables societies and cultures to be studied as wholes, and thus excludes from the start the kind of arbitrary comparison between disparate fragments of different cultures which has for long been the curse of anthropology.

Mrs. Kuper's work will be read with close interest from cover to cover even by those who are not professionally interested in her science. She begins with an introduction in which she describes the conditions under which she worked, and very favourable they seem to have been, for she was not only given every assistance by the educated Swazi *Inkosi,* Sobhuza II, but also enabled to live among the people as nearly like one of themselves as conditions allowed. She learned the language thoroughly, and was thus in a position to overcome the natural secretiveness and proneness to deception of her hosts, a good illustration of which she provides in the saying of one woman : " we deceive you like anything because you are white".

There follows a historical section, in which the settlement of Swaziland by its existing native aristocracy, the Dlamini and their kindred, is described, and a fascinating account is given of the impact upon this conservative peasant society of the economic imperialism exemplified by Boer and Briton alike. The Swazi are related to the Zulu, and their kings were uneasy tributaries of the great Shaka, the " Zulu Napoleon". Violent conquest they understood perfectly, but " penetration " by concession-hunters and monopoly traders was entirely strange to them. Their inexperience of Western methods very nearly led to the extinction of their independence and deprived them of two-thirds of their land. Now, under a more enlightened administration, they are slowly winning back by purchase what they lost a generation ago by fraud.

The second part of the book gives a careful and detailed account of the Swazi economy, with particular emphasis on the organisation of their homesteads. Then it discusses the political hierarchy which centres round the king and the queen-mother, and shows that this nation of warrior-peasants has evolved for itself a very interesting form of popular aristocracy in which the common people have considerable influence. The king is officially known as " Lion," his mother as " Lady Elephant". The ritual that surrounds the king, the method by which he is chosen from among his polygamous father's children after the latter's death, the system of kinship, the organisation of age-classes, the economic aspects of Swazi

society and the position of the magicians who play a great part in the life of the community, are all described with a wealth of fascinating detail. In the last chapter of all Mrs. Kuper gives us a most interesting account of the great annual festival of *Incwala*, celebrated in December, the hungry midsummer month when men " swallow the pickings of their teeth". It is not merely a first-fruits ceremony, as has been constantly supposed, but a ritual drama of kingship, in which the unity of the nation round and through its ruler is still strongly stressed. The book is admirably illustrated and has a very serviceable map.

M. T.

Biography

ARTHUR MURPHY. By John P. Emery. Pennsylvania University Press. London : Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1946. 20s.

Arthur Murphy, actor, playwright, dramatic critic, lawyer, was one of those versatile Irishmen who enriched the arts in eighteenth century England. He was educated at St. Omer, where the Jesuit use of comedy to satirise " puerilities and ineptitudes " aroused his interest in the drama and his abilities as an actor. After a short period in London, he was, at the age of 20, compelled by a maternal uncle to become a clerk in a Cork business house. Cork had then two theatres, but beyond a few visits Murphy had no interest in them. Back in London, he found full scope for his ambitions and became a notable figure.

Murphy knew Fielding, belonged to Johnson's inner circle, introduced Johnson to the Thrales and remained the friend of Mrs. Piozzi during the intensive washing of dirty linen which formed the background of her second marriage. He moved familiarly among the most distinguished and the most notorious people of his time. Murphy's London and his activities therein provide rich material for the biographer. One must regret that Mr. Emery has ignored this opportunity and contented himself with a dry and meticulous accretion of facts. Even the superbly ludicrous Shakesperean Festival which Garrick launched at Stratford is given merely a few sedate sentences. At times sedate would be too poor a word to describe Mr. Emery's style—as, for example, when he says of Ann Elliot, Murphy's actress friend : " Her gaiety and pulchritude appealed not only to the Murphy who was serious, but also to the Murphy who starred as a conversationalist." Is it blandness which causes Mr. Emery to dismiss as follows the Thrale-Piozzi situation : " Murphy approved this second marriage based on mutual love, and put to shame Dr. Johnson, Fanny Burney, Hester Maria Thrale—Mrs. Thrale's eldest daughter and all objectors " ? Mrs. Thrale's banishment of Dr. Johnson from Streatham and her subsequent treatment of him is summed up under the brief euphemism : " the new coolness between Mrs. Piozzi and Johnson ".

It is Mr. Emery's purpose to restore Arthur Murphy to " his rightful place in the history of English drama ". Naturally he does not contend that Murphy surpasses the other leading dramatists of his age. " Nevertheless one cannot easily dismiss him as a rival of even Goldsmith and Sheridan." This may be true, but one must take into account that Murphy too much tended to burthen with sentimentality his comedies of manners. For the rest, it is difficult to accept Murphy as a Shakesperean critic. We cannot be supposed to believe that Murphy was opposed to the mangling of Shakespeare's plays since Murphy (like Johnson) preferred to Shakespeare's *King Lear* Nahum Tate's travesty. When assessing a playwright's success as a fashioner of tragedy during the eighteenth century, it is salutary to remember that for almost a century Tate's version of *King Lear* held the stage to the almost total exclusion of the play as Shakespeare wrote it. Judged by such a standard, any success in tragedy that may be claimed for Murphy dwindles con-

siderably. To arrive at a true perspective, one must look before and after the English theatre of the eighteenth century and (*pace* Sheridan and Goldsmith) pine for what was not. It is a pleasant paradox that the English theatre of that period was saved by the laughter of two Irishmen and that their nearest rival in comedy was Irish also.

B. G. MACCARTHY

THE IRISH THEATRE. By Peter Kavanagh, M.A., Ph.D. Tralee: The Kerryman Ltd. 1946. 21s. net.

THIS is a work of four hundred and eighty-nine pages, approximately two hundred and thirty thousand words, with appendix, general index, index of plays and list of abbreviations, the whole covering the history of Anglo-Irish drama from its earliest period to the beginning of the present century. Within its limitations it is likely to be an invaluable source book.

Dr. Kavanagh assures the reader that each dramatist was studied for " his importance from the historical rather than the literary point of view ". Some may be inclined to perceive a danger of confusion in this *literary* (as opposed to *theatrical*) point of view, particularly since Dr. Kavanagh's enthusiasm for his subject tends to make the critic in him override the historian—sometimes with disastrous consequences.

An instance of this confusion may be found in Dr. Kavanagh's treatment of Wilde. He dismisses *The Importance of Being Earnest* as " the least interesting of all Wilde's plays " because " it carries no message, there is no attempt to reveal life as it is. It is rightly called a fantasy ". But may not the theatre entertain fantastically? And is not Wilde's play an outstandingly brilliant example of what Polonius might call fantastical—theatrical entertainment?

Shaw—to champion his own school, no doubt—fell into a similar error concerning Wilde, and declared that *The Importance of Being Earnest* was so much waste of time since it taught nothing. Of another Wilde play (*An Ideal Husband*) he wrote that it was " useless to describe a play which has no thesis, which is in its purest integrity a play and nothing else ". Under the circumstances one might expect to find Dr. Kavanagh championing Shaw, yet this is how he sums him up: " He (G.B.S.) is considered to-day as the greatest living dramatist, but it is our belief that he may be remembered as a great personality rather than a great dramatist. No one can deny that his plays make one laugh, but the humour often depends on the topicality of the idea and may, therefore, not outlive the century ".

In a letter to the reviewer Dr. Kavanagh defends his attitude to Wilde on the grounds that he was judging Wilde on the very highest plane. " Of course I realise Wilde's worth. I criticised him as one criticises something which is good but is defective. Were I to judge Ibsen on the same plane I would have criticised him for that terrible falseness which runs through his work and which at the end of the play frequently leaves us exasperated because we are so often unable to lay our finger on the exact thing which exasperates us ". I must confess that I do not follow Dr. Kavanagh here. Wilde's worth so far as *The Importance of Being Earnest* is concerned lies in the fact that this delightfully fantastic piece of stage-craft has earned for him his right to be called a dramatist; and our exasperation at Ibsen (who frequently exasperates) cannot possibly make us overlook his dramatic genius. Can it be that Dr. Kavanagh made a mistake in approaching his subjects from what he calls " the literary point of view? "

Boucicault " a man who was thoroughly experienced in the mechanics of the stage " he describes as " hardly a third-rate dramatist "; and in his essay on " Dramatic Trends 1750–1800 " he assures us that " the exclusive object of almost all the dramatists of the period under survey was to entertain ". Here again I find

it difficult to follow Dr. Kavanagh. I cannot conceive even a " literary point of view " blinding one to the fact that the main purpose of any dramatist of any period is to entertain.

It is this confusion of literary with theatrical points of view which makes Dr. Kavanagh's work rather irritating reading—at least so far as a working drama critic is concerned. Yet even this, in a measure, gives *Irish Theatre* a peculiar merit of its own. It is evident in every one of its many pages that Dr. Kavanagh is thinking, and sometimes thinking furiously—so furiously indeed that he sometimes compels his reader to think furiously against him.

He has made his survey—and it is a formidable one—with enviable industry, bringing forth an historical record of absorbing interest, a tale of playwrights, players, and theatres ; providing enlightenment, entertainment and endless opportunities for discussion. From the last point of view it should be of invaluable assistance to every serious student of the theatre.

G. FALLON

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium. Text and Translation, with an Introduction and Commentary. By Joseph N. Garvin, C.S.C. (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature. Vol. XIX). Washington : Catholic University. 1946.

Vita Sancti Fructuosi. Text with a Translation, Introduction and Commentary. By Sister Frances Clare Nock, S.C.N. (Studies in Medieval History : New Series. Vol. VII). Washington : Catholic University. 1946.

DR. ALOYSIUS ZIEGLER is to be congratulated on the appearance of two more monographs on the history of Visigothic Spain, each produced by a student of the Catholic University under his general direction. The new text and translation of *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* is the larger of the two volumes (567 pages, as compared with 163 pages for the *Vita Sancti Fructuosi*) ; but I have found the smaller volume the more interesting. Possibly the general plan of these " Studies in Medieval History " makes easier reading for the hurried student. Father Garvin has given us a full text, based (owing to the impossibility of securing photostats from Spain during the war) on no more than a partial study of the few extant manuscripts. In his Introduction and Commentary he has concentrated mainly on an intensive study of linguistic and grammatical peculiarities. The historical content of these *Vitae* (which were most probably compiled in the first half of the seventh century by some unknown author, connected with the church of Mérida) must be sought, with the aid of an excellent Index, in the immensely long Commentary, which fills more than half the volume. The linguistic material assembled by Father Garvin is immense ; but in view of the special character of this work it seems a pity that the work could not have been postponed to a happier time, when the author might have had access to the most important MS., now in the Madrid Academy of History (MS. Aemilianensis 13). He has had to content himself with Fr. de Smedt's edition, which is based on this MS.

Sister Frances Nock has written a most helpful Introduction, in which very similar material, culled from the seventh-century *Vita* of St. Fructuosus, is discussed under a few obvious headings ; linguistic and textual problems are reserved for a short Commentary at the end of the volume. Fructuosus was consecrated archbishop of Braga on December 1, 656. That is the one fixed date in his career : for the anonymous *Vita*—evidently the work of a contemporary admirer—takes the framework of the saint's life for granted and is written for purposes of edification.

But we get more curious glimpses into the social and economic life of rural north-western Spain under the Visigothic kings, the scene being laid in what is now the diocese of Astorga. Fructuosus was most probably a native of Bierza, in the mountainous region west of that city. Even that fact is not certain ; but it was here that the saint, the son of a *dux exercitus Hispaniae* who was also the owner of sheep-flocks in these mountain-valleys, made his first foundation at some date before 650. A letter from him to St. Braulio of Saragossa, with Braulio's reply, has survived : Fructuosus asks for books and seeks help in certain theological problems. The saint had already founded more than one monastery at this date : he worked first in the north-western province of Galicia, later in the southern province of Baetica. But Galicia is the scene in which the story of his life is set. The authorship of this biography is uncertain. Most scholars—following the lead of Ambrosio de Morales, Philip II's librarian and historian—attribute it to Valerius, who succeeded Fructuosus as abbot of San Pedro de Montes at Bierza. Sister Frances, who gives sound reasons for questioning that conclusion, prefers to leave the question of authorship open. The point is, however, of little importance. What matters is that this anonymous *Vita*, with the *Querimoniae* of Valerius (the second abbot's autobiography), should be read together for the light they throw on this remote corner of seventh-century Christendom.

A word about the MSS. which have been used for the text of these two volumes. No less than four MSS. of the tenth century survive for the *Vita Fructuosi*, the most important of them being associated with the *Querimoniae* and other writings of Valerius. That is an unusual fact, and illustrates the wealth of early manuscript literature that must still survive in the great Spanish libraries. The *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* has come down to us in a tenth-century MS., two short fragments of another tenth-century MS., and an eleventh-century MS. of which the main portion is in Paris, but the first leaf in Madrid ; as well as some later texts. Most of these MSS. are to-day in the Escorial Library, and one can only be thankful that these treasures were not destroyed in the recent Civil War. Sister Frances Nock has had the advantage of working on a text which was recently (1942) edited by a Spanish scholar, Ramón Fernandez Pousa ; but she has been able to revise some of Pousa's conclusions by a careful study of earlier printed editions. The Bollandist Father de Smedt published an edition of the *Vitas Patrum Emeretensium* in the *Acta Sanctorum* (November, Vol. I. 1887). Both Mabillon and the Bollandist Henschenius published texts of the *Vita Fructuosi* ; but the credit for pioneer work on both *Vitae* must go to Ambrosio de Morales and Philip II.

A. G.

DER BIBELTEXT DES HEILIGEN PATRICK. By Ludwig Bieler. Rome : *Biblica*, vol. 28 (1947), pp. 31–58 ; 236–63.

WHAT kind of Latin Bible did Saint Patrick bring with him to Ireland in the year 432 ? That is a question which more than one scholar has tried to answer, but the main lines of the answer have been clear enough since Dr. John Gwynn published his edition of the Book of Armagh in 1913. Some years before that date (1905) the late Dr. Newport White edited the *Latin Writings of Saint Patrick* and paid special attention to this problem. He was able to make use of the (as yet unpublished) materials of Dr. Gwynn ; as also was Bury in his *Life of Saint Patrick*. The views put forward by these three scholars may be taken as giving an adequate summary of modern research on this whole question. Abbot Chapman tackled the problem in his *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (1908) ; but by a strange oversight he used the text of Patrick's Latin writings as printed by Whitley Stokes,

which had been superseded by Newport White's more critical work in 1905; and he was also led astray by his theory that Patrick himself had brought a "Celtic" version of the Gospels into Ireland. There the matter has rested until to-day.

Dr. Bieler has been working for some years past on a new critical text of Patrick's Latin writings. Newport White based his text entirely on the evidence of the Book of Armagh, which dates from the first years of the ninth century. Its text is the earliest version of these writings, but other MSS. have come down to us, ranging in date from the tenth to the twelfth centuries and apparently of independent value. Dr. Bieler rightly insists that their evidence must be given its due weight in the preparation of a satisfactory critical text. Even slight verbal alterations are of real value when there is question of comparing two or more versions of the Old Latin Bible. Isolated instances may be due to no more than coincidence, but a series of coincident texts suggests the nature of the actual version with which Patrick was familiar. Hence the need of a new study of the whole problem. Moreover our knowledge of the various types of Old Latin versions (all of which were finally superseded by St. Jerome's Vulgate) is more accurate to-day than it was forty or fifty years ago.

Students of Patrick's life and missionary work will not need to be reminded that the biblical texts cited by the saint are in general of a "Gallic" type, differing from the "African" and "Celtic" versions. This general conclusion was known to Gwynn, Bury and Newport White forty years ago. In the two long articles which Dr. Bieler has now contributed to the current volume of *Biblica* we have for the first time a detailed analysis of the evidence for each individual text, with comments that frequently anticipate the elaborate commentary which Dr. Bieler has been preparing for his edition of the *Patriciana*. The evidence is at best far from perfect. Patrick's writings are short, and his biblical citations and allusions are made haphazard. None the less, the actual number of texts that can be identified is surprisingly high for so small a body of written work. Like most of the saints, Patrick quotes more freely from such well-loved books as the Psalter, the Gospels and the Epistles of Saint Paul. To these, as Dr. Bieler notes, should be added the Book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. On the other hand, citations from the Pentateuch, Kings and Paralipomenon or many of the Prophets are so few as to be almost negligible. Making allowance for this imperfect evidence, it seems clear that the Psalter which Patrick knew by heart was of the "Gallic" type: there is not a single text to suggest the influence of Jerome's more modern version. So far as our evidence carries us for the other books of the Old Testament, the version known to Patrick seems also to have been of "Gallic" type, and was certainly distinct from Jerome's Vulgate. The text of the Gospels is less easy to determine. There are many passages of "Gallic" type, but others suggest the influence of the Vulgate, whilst the seven citations from the Acts of the Apostles are definitely of Vulgate type. In his *Life of Saint Patrick* Bury put forward (though with a good deal of diffidence) a suggestion that Patrick "had been trained on an Old Latin version in Gaul, but that he possessed in Ireland a copy of the New Testament in which he looked up some of the references". This explanation of the evidence, which is admittedly confusing, is perhaps too bookish. Dr. Bieler prefers to accept the view that Patrick's text was fundamentally of "Gallic" type and earlier than Jerome's translation, but that the influence of this more modern version is apparent in varying proportions for each book of the New Testament. He is not prepared to go as far as Abbot Chapman who wished to identify Patrick's Bible with the Old Latin version in use at Lérins in the early fifth century.

One or two minor points are of special interest. In his "Life of Saint Patrick" Muirchu cites a verse of Sechnall's hymn *Audite omnes* in which Sechnall describes his former master's love of sacred song: *Ymnos cum apocalypsi psalmosque cantat Dei.* Muirchu interprets the first word of this line as meaning that Patrick loved

to chant the *kantica spiritualia scripturarum*. Dr. Bieler has searched the extant texts of his writings, but has failed to find any proof that Patrick was specially fond of the scriptural canticles. He has, he thinks, found traces (both in *Confessio* and in *Epistola ad Coroticum*) of familiarity with the text of the *Te Deum* : an interesting point, if his conclusion is accepted by scholars. He is almost certainly right in his view that Sechnall means no more in this verse than that Patrick loved to chant the oldest hymns of the Church's liturgy.

One biblical passage (Malachy 4, 2–3) is cited by Patrick in the *Epistola* in an unusual form, which recurs only once : in Book XVIII of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. Newport White had noted this fact, and was inclined to think that Patrick was here quoting at second hand from the Bible as cited by Augustine. But this same text is cited in the Vulgate form by Augustine somewhat later in the same long work, and I am in sympathy with Dr. Bieler when he writes that he cannot think of Patrick as a student of the *De Civitate Dei*. His own view is that we have here no more than a coincidence. In one passage Augustine cites this text from a Vulgate version ; in another he happens to cite it in a form which was familiar to Patrick, and may have been familiar to many others of that generation.

This raises the whole question of Patrick's familiarity with the writings of some at least of the western Fathers. The fact that he himself chose *Confessio* as the title of his most characteristic work suggests very strongly that he was familiar with Augustine's more famous *Confessio*. But it would be rash to argue from that one instance to the conclusion that Patrick was familiar with all or even most of Augustine's vast literary output. Dr. Bieler has noted a small but significant number of passages in which the biblical text cited by Patrick shows the influence of a version older than that which he more commonly cites. Such passages are perhaps to be explained on the supposition that Patrick is citing them from the writings of some earlier Latin writer such as Cyprian ; but the evidence is slight, and the conclusion most uncertain.

There are about a dozen texts in which the Latin wording of Patrick's citation is not found in any of the extant Latin versions of the Bible, though the form of these citations can be paralleled from Greek versions. With these may be classed the text of Osee 14, 1 which is perhaps cited in *Confessio* 18 (*reppuli sugere mammellas eorum*). Dr. Bieler compares this passage with a newly discovered Latin fragment of this prophet, in which the phrase *sugentes mammellas eorum* (a direct translation from the Septuagint) replaces the Vulgate : *parvuli eorum*. Patrick may perhaps be citing the text in this unusual form, but Father John Ryan has given strong arguments for his view that Patrick is here paraphrasing in Latin an Old Irish idiom. In the other dozen citations Dr. Bieler may fairly claim that he has made a contribution to our knowledge of pre-Hieronymian Latin versions of the Bible.

That Patrick's Bible was not a " Celtic " version such as we have in the text of the New Testament as given in the Book of Armagh is certain. With one curious exception, there seems to be no point of contact between the specifically " Celtic " texts and the same passages as cited by Patrick. The exception is Matthew 28, 19–20, which is cited by Patrick in his *Confessio* in a definitely " Celtic " form : *Euntes ergo nunc docete omnes gentes baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti docentes eos observare*, etc. Dr. Bieler has been tempted into conjecture by this coincidence. Can it have been that this text, frequently cited by Patrick and thus made familiar by his preaching, found its way into the later " Celtic " version, thus becoming an isolated " Patrician " text in an otherwise post-Patrician Bible ? The conjecture is far-fetched, and it is perhaps wiser just to note the fact and leave it unexplained. Whatever the explanation of this isolated puzzle, it seems clear that the " Celtic " text of the New Testament, as copied at Armagh in the early ninth century, is a later development : distinct from Patrick's own earlier " Gallic "

text and from Jerome's Vulgate. Traces of Jerome's Vulgate in Irish use are, with the apparent exception of the Acts of the Apostles, of later date than the sixth century. Dr. Bieler notes that Patrick cites the Acts from a Vulgate text, which has two divergences from the normal Vulgate text—and that both these divergences occur in the text as given in the Book of Armagh. Have we here no more than a coincidence? Or does the Book of Armagh give us, for at least one book of the New Testament, a text that is substantially the same as that which Patrick knew and quoted in the fifth century?

These are, for some of us at least, fascinating problems. Dr. Bieler leaves Ireland this autumn to take up duty as Assistant Professor of Classics in the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. It would be ungracious to allow him to depart without some word of grateful appreciation for the very real contribution that he has made to Patrician studies during the seven years that he has spent in Ireland. May the same good fortune attend his studies in the New World!

A. G.

Studies in Ancient History

ASPECTS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. Essays and Reviews. By Victor Ehrenberg. Oxford: Blackwell. 1946. 15s. net.

Professor Ehrenberg is a scholar whose work will have a special interest for at least a few Irish readers, for he was one of the victims of the Nazis who was given shelter for a brief time in University College, Dublin, after having been expelled from his chair of Ancient History at Prague. It will please his Irish friends and students to know that he is now attached to Bedford College in the University of London. This collection of essays is actually the third of his books to appear in English, and he enjoys a high reputation for his work on certain aspects of Greek history, especially the early history of the *Polis* and the relation of Alexander the Great to his Greek subjects.

As might be expected, the contents of this collection vary from quite popular articles and reviews to learned studies on special subjects. Two essays in particular will receive close attention from scholars, and these are among the longest in the book. The first is entitled *Eunomia*, and is a skilful and subtle analysis of the development of the idea of law in early Greece, closely akin to some of its author's best known earlier work. The second is called *Tragic Heracles*, and was first published in 1943 in the *Durham University Journal*. No student of Greek Tragedy can afford to miss this very penetrating piece of literary criticism. It deals with a problem which is crucial to the understanding both of Sophocles and Euripides, and if it should seem to come perhaps strangely from a professional historian, that is because Dr. Ehrenberg takes a wide and sound view of a historian's function.

This is a subject which he discusses at some length himself in another interesting essay dating from 1931—a memorial study of his own master, Eduard Meyer. Far from sufficient justice has been done in English-speaking countries to this great scholar, brother of Kuno Meyer whose work on Irish poetry is deservedly famous. As Dr. Ehrenberg observes, Eduard Meyer's horizon was that of the Second Reich, as Mommsen's was that of the liberalism of 1848. No one better illustrates both the merits and the defects of German scholarship in its heyday than does Meyer. His knowledge was encyclopaedic and the scope of his *History of Antiquity* was so wide that such an effort at synthesis may have no successors in its own kind. At the same time he was a pure positivist in philosophy, and Dr. Ehrenberg contrasts him in interesting fashion with his more profound and more influential Swiss predecessor,

Burckhardt. It might well be argued that it was the positivism of its thinkers that nullified the immense learning developed by the Bismarckian Empire.

Other valuable essays in this volume deal with the form of rule in the Roman Empire, with early Athenian colonies, with the character of the Spartan State, with the Athenian hymn to Demetrius Poliorcetes—interestingly treated as "a proclamation of monarchy"—and once more with Alexander the Great. More popular are "The Greek Country and the Greek State," republished from *Die Antike*, and "The Ancient World and Europe," hitherto unpublished, in which the author states his faith in the humanist combination of scholarship and religion.

M. T.

PHILOSOPHY

LE POINT DE DEPART DE LA METAPHYSIQUE. Cahier IV. By Joseph Maréchal, S.J. Bruxelles: L'Edition Universelle; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. 1947. Pp. 487.

FATHER JOSEPH MARÉCHAL, who died suddenly in 1944, was not a prolific or a popular writer and is not yet widely known in England and America. Nevertheless it is safe to prophesy that he will one day be recognised as one of the few great philosophers of the first half of this century. He found that imperfect understanding of the German idealists had aroused widespread suspicion in France and Belgium that they might be right and in consequence fostered a general diffidence towards philosophy and a revulsion against it. He himself studied the idealists so conscientiously and sympathetically that his expositions make the work of other commentators look like the records of a Cook's tour.

The conclusion that he drew from his deep insight into the critical philosophy was somewhat startling. It was that Thomism was also a critical philosophy. The mind's dynamism *a priori*, its spontaneous impulse towards its last end, was both in Thomism and the *Aufklärung* the source of its knowledge of being. The Kantians, admitting Maréchal's depth and accuracy of interpretation, were loth to accept the corrections in their philosophy that he suggested. The Scholastics have been divided into three different schools of opinion. Most of them, to be quite frank, have made silly accusations against Maréchal, due to hasty judgements at seeing a Thomist coming to grips with Fichte by shaking hands with him. Not a few have become enthusiastic followers of the Louvain master. A third party recognise the validity of his positive doctrine and the truth and importance of his partial reconciliation of Thomism with German idealism. But they are not convinced that St. Thomas denied all the theses denied by Maréchal, or (it is nearly the same point) assigned so commanding a place in his system to the doctrine of what Maréchal calls dynamism. But Maréchal has been so much the master of all of us in learning and rational insight that it will need long reflection to justify a confident judgement on his doctrine.

The publication, therefore, of the Fourth Cahier of his great work is an important event in the history of philosophy, whatever interest it excites at the moment. Since the Fifth Cahier is already published the work is now complete. But it is not in every sense finished, for the author had only completed the first half of this Cahier when he died. The editors have wisely decided to complete it by publishing a version of the second part that Maréchal had intended to re-cast. It will be remembered that the Third Cahier contained a general exposition of Kant's critical philosophy. This Cahier in the part completed before the author's death comprises a particular study of the development of the role of dynamism in the later philosophy of Kant. The second part, no less lucid and profound though not quite so formidable in its scholarship, shows the further development of dynamism in the philosophy of Fichte, who it is

implied might have re-discovered Thomism were it not for his idealistic and pantheistic prejudices. Some attempt must here be made to summarise the thesis of this Fourth Cahier, though at the possible expense of accuracy and the inevitable expense of precision.

Kant's original problem was to explain the possibility of a thing existing outside of the mind that also existed inside the mind. He had no doubt that Hume was wrong in denying knowledge of reality, yet how that knowledge was possible was for him a difficulty. His solution was that reality was indeed known to exist at the boundary of consciousness, but the qualities and determinations with which it was invested were constructs of the mind. His *Critique of Pure Reason* took the sensible phenomenon as datum and deduced from it transcendentally the theory of the categories as the necessary condition of its knowledge as an object with a recognisable quiddity. This transcendental deduction of the categories was the foundation of his notorious agnosticism. For if knowledge is regarded as the consciousness of a sensible object, it follows that nothing but sensible objects can be known in any proper sense. The practical reason only teaches us to act *as if* there were other objects.

However, if it is possible to deduce the conditions of thought from a known sensible object, it should also be possible to deduce them from the nature and requisites of a knowing subject. Maréchal shows that from the beginning Kant had inklings of this possibility of founding his philosophy not on the object but on the subject. He divined the possibility of tracing the process of knowledge by a metaphysical deduction of the categories from the knowing subject. He thus took as datum not the passive and receptive condition of sensation but the dynamism or constructive activity of understanding. In fact in his fragmentary *Opus Postumum* (only in 1936 published in a useful form), under pressure of the critics of the " thing in itself ", he had laid all the stress on the dynamism or synthetic *a priori* activity of the understanding in explaining the object of the mind. As for the " thing in itself," it was now explained as the representation in the object of the proper activity of the thinking *subject*, which activity it represented by the unity of the concept.

But now that the object is recognised as the subject's objectivisation of himself sensation no longer holds a privileged position. Since all knowledge is really self-knowledge, all that can be thought is known. Knowledge of sensible objects is only one kind of knowledge. Hence the speculative reason can now include in its possible field of knowledge the objects of the practical reason. Kant's doctrine of the speculative reason no longer contradicts the possibility claimed for the practical reason of knowing God and the spiritual truths postulated by the categorical imperative. The *Opus Postumum* presages an integration of the first two *Critiques* more thorough and plausible than that attempted in the *Critique of Judgement*. Yet it also presages an even greater agnosticism. The only ascertainable actual existence is now that of the transcendental Ego, considered as an *a priori* possibility of knowledge. The existences of the material world and of God are only coherent hypotheses, explanations of phenomena that are only necessary for the moment because for the moment no better can be found. Kant explicitly rejoins Fichte on the ground of absolute idealism.

The consequence, which only becomes clearly accepted in Fichte, is that the practical reason is now the fundamental activity of thought. The law of the self is the whole law for the thinking subject. Maréchal quotes one clear text in which Kant declares that the beginning of all thought is a striving for the last end of the thinker, the moral good which, personified in God, is the last explanation of all objects possible to the mind. But it is only by Fichte that speculative activity, moral aspiration, and the concept of the last end of man are clearly identified both in their origin and in their object.

Maréchal can now add the doctrine of his Fifth Cahier. Yes, he concedes, we

know existence *a priori*. We know things as existing and not merely as phenomena by experiencing the act by which we know them as a searching for an end manifestly outside us. That end is infinite being, for it attracts us beyond any finite object conceivable. The mind is a faculty of knowing *nothing but* reality in itself. The condition for the possibility of such a faculty is the reduction of all the categories to one active *indetermination* whose formal object is accordingly act or being in general and which is fulfilled only in the knowledge of infinite being. The condition is verified in the *a priori* activity of the *intellectus agens* with all its implications. But the contingent and random character of sensible experience makes knowledge under its other aspects irreducible to the predetermined necessity *a priori* of the idealists.

So for Maréchal knowledge starts with self-knowledge ; for Kant and Fichte it stops there. Yet they were on the right track. The *Aufklärung* that seemed to herald a *Götterdämmerung* might really have been an Aufklärung after all. The German idealists were knocking at the gate of knowledge of reality, unaware that God was listening from the other side. Maréchal claims to have introduced them to the porter of that gate, whose name is St. Thomas. His claim cannot lightly be refuted.

A. L.

ST. THOMAS AND EPISTEMOLOGY. By Louis-Marie Régis, O.P. Milwaukee : Marquette University Press. 1946. $1.50.

THIS little book, by the well-known Dominican philosopher, is a reprint of the Aquinas Lecture given at Marquette University in 1946. The lecture, as one would expect in the case of such a large subject, is broad and programmatic in character. The rather brief and condensed indications in the text are, however, amplified in the notes, which contain copious references to St. Thomas and to modern philosophical literature.

The discussion is thrown into the form of an imaginary trial, in which St. Thomas is arraigned before Descartes and Kant—and, strange to say, before the leading neo-Thomists ; and is given an opportunity of criticism and defence. We have the strange spectacle of a Descartes and a Kant who have read St. Thomas ; and of a St. Thomas who has studied carefully the modern philosophers.

This device allows the author to set forth his own attitude towards neo-Thomist epistemology. He accuses neo-Thomism of concordism with the Idealism of Descartes and Kant. " During the last hundred years we have witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of a widely accepted Thomism which gradually began to stylize itself according to all the fashions and modes of the fathers of idealism ". " Thomism has been pulled for too long by an idealistic tug-boat ", so that " it is no more than the shadow of its real self, and brings to mind the monstrous picture of a magnificent mediaeval cathedral modernized in a rococo style." The new Thomism " seems very much like the work of an architect who destroys the house which was built by another and reconstructs it on a different plan ". The result is a philosophical synthesis, but not a Thomistic synthesis.

Instead of this, we are invited to return to the genuine Thomist epistemology. This must be based on a sound metaphysics, must admit several different types of knowledge, and show the order and relation between them. The programme of such an epistemology is indicated, but only in its general features. It is to be hoped that the author will expand the broad constructive outline which he has sketched. If he does so, with his very expert knowledge of St. Thomas, we may look forward to a fundamental re-statement of the Thomist position.

The sharp contrasts, evidenced by this book, between the different types of neo-Thomism are a clear indication of the difficulty and complexity of the problem. Since this lecture was given, the Louvain publication by G. van Riet (L'Epistémologie

Thomiste) has appeared, giving a comprehensive history of the whole movement. Reading this, one is impressed by the great variety of approaches to the problem of knowledge in modern Thomism. Such intensive discussion, bringing out different aspects of the question and stimulated by parallel modern movements of thought is bound to clarify the problem and advance it towards a satisfactory solution.

J. S.

Politics

MACHIAVELLI. By J. H. Whitfield. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1947. 16s.

The purpose of this book—" that has in a way been a score of years a-writing "—is to explain what Professor Whitfield regards as the genuine doctrine of Machiavelli. If we accept Professor Whitfield's conclusions, Machiavelli has, over four centuries, succeeded in concealing his opinions not merely from ordinary readers but from a succession of eminent critics. The secret is at length revealed. " After all," he tells us, with a disarming modesty, " it has taken the rest of the world four centuries of reading *The Prince* before it has occurred to anyone to point out the obvious nature of its genesis." This book, therefore, claims to be the only authentic account of Machiavelli's views. It may be said at once that it is a book for scholars—not for the average reader. It is hard going and it is, I think, very difficult to discover what Professor Whitfield's conclusions really amount to. It seems obvious at first that he entirely disagrees with the traditional interpretation of *The Prince*. He holds that there is no difference of doctrine between *The Prince* and the *Discorsi*. The clue to the interpretation of both he finds in the *Legations*. Thus Machiavelli presents throughout a single, unified and coherent doctrine; and it would seem a simple matter, although it turns out to be very difficult, to state what this doctrine is.

Of Machiavelli three interpretations have been current. There is first what may be called the traditional view that Machiavelli, particularly in *The Prince*, gives expression to doctrines frankly opposed to traditional Christian morality. Traditional Christian morality in Machiavelli's time meant, of course, the moral teaching of the Catholic Church. There is secondly the interpretation, associated with Hegel and the Hegelians, that where Machiavelli does disagree with traditional Christian morality he is right and Christian morality is wrong. The moral law is valid only for the relations between individuals and not for the relations between States. Thirdly it may be held that Machiavelli is in no sense immoral and that the passages both in *The Prince* and the *Discorsi* where he seems to be so are susceptible of a moral interpretation.

It would, perhaps, be too simple a solution to suggest that Professor Whitfield's interpretation comes under the third of these categories. Too simple, because it is very difficult to discover what Professor Whitfield's ethical opinions are. He seems to have a vague and undefined hostility to the Catholic Church, although it is not clear whether this hostility extends to its moral system. To the Renascence he is favourable. To label its morality " pagan " is, he thinks, not convincing: first, because pagan morality is not necessarily inferior; secondly, because the label has been used by people who mistakenly believe in the superiority of the medieval ages of faith. All this would seem to suggest a justification of Machiavelli's moral system in contrast with the medieval moral system. And yet this does not seem to be his considered view, since (he tells us), " from the viewpoint of Machiavelli's *intentions*—which, without the slightest shadow of doubt, are blameless . . . . Dante and Aquinas would have had no right to exclude Machiavelli " from paradise. The truth seems to be that, instead of giving us a solution of the problem of Machiavelli, Professor Whitfield has presented us with the new problem of discovering what his own solution is.

What does the reader get out of Professor Whitfield's chapter on *The Prince*? Presumably it is common ground that there is an " uncompromising and disturbing note in Machiavelli ". He *seems* to recommend for the ruler lying, deceit, cruelty, murder and so forth and to suggest Caesar Borgia as a suitable model for the ruler who aims at a successful State. Professor Whitfield suggests that, if we realize the circumstances in which *The Prince* was written—" the background of the *Legations* "—we shall discover that Machiavelli is really in favour of keeping faith, not of breaking it. His letter to Vettori of December 10, 1513, " contains four times in four of its closing lines the statement of his own faithfulness ". *The Prince* was not written " with some nice dilettante detachment ". Its key-word is *necessity*, which occurs nine times " in the two or three short pages that constitute the famous Chapter XVIII on the keeping of faith in princes ". *The Prince* must be taken as " the call to a native prince to master at least some part of Italy to save it : that is no wicked enterprise ". Machiavelli " says specifically that the defence of one's country is no matter for niceties ". Caesar Borgia has been blamed for cruelty ; but the results of his cruelty were much better than the results of the clemency of Florence. Yet this does not shift the valuation of actions from the *intention* to the *result* ; but, and this is quite different, from the *intention* to the *intention plus the result*."

It is quite impossible, I think, to discover in all this any *coherent* theory of morality. It is fundamental in the Christian theory that there are certain moral principles which are binding in all circumstances and which can never be violated. And this is precisely what Machiavelli denies. Professor Whitfield, as I understand him, also denies it, so that he justifies Machiavelli by accepting Machiavelli's principles. I can see no escape from the conclusion that Professor Whitfield is convinced that actions, otherwise unjustifiable, may become moral if done " in defence of one's country " or under the stress of " necessity " of one kind or another. To think otherwise seems to him to be " medievalism " and a reversion to what he refers to as " the Ages of Faith ". Why, believing this, he can say that there are in Machiavelli " expressions which seem, or often are, in themselves outrageous " it is difficult to understand. The fact seems to be that he is inconsistent and sometimes argues along traditional Christian lines. From the Christian point of view it seems obvious that what Machiavelli says in *The Prince* could not be justified by the circumstances in which the book was written, by what Machiavelli says elsewhere, by parallel statements in Livy, Cicero, Castiglione or other writers. Of course, if one denies that there are any principles of morality universally binding, then Machiavelli may possibly be right. But is this what Professor Whitfield really desires to do?

D. O'K.

Was Shakespeare a Catholic?

THE SHAKESPEARES AND " THE OLD FAITH ". By John Henry de Groot. New York : King's Crown Press (Columbia University) ; London : Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1946. Pp. 258. 20s.

Mr. de Groot's subject is the religious upbringing of Shakespeare and the marks left upon his plays by this early training. The capital question is whether the poet's father was a Puritan, an Anglican, or a Catholic. There is a great mass of indecisive evidence, which has baffled some scholars and led others to desired but not strictly warranted conclusions. Mr. de Groot presents it all, in admirable order, and weighs it scrap by scrap with what seems to me to be the utmost accuracy and judgement. John Shakespeare began his career of civic office in Stratford under Mary and advanced uninterruptedly under Elizabeth. If he was a Catholic, he must have had to assent to some distasteful things. But he did not necessarily meet with any insuperable obstacle : the Act of Supremacy, notably, was for long almost a dead letter

in the provinces. Only in 1577 (when his son was 13) did the Alderman get into whatever serious trouble it was that made him thenceforth an absentee from the Corporation. Was it poverty? Mr. de Groot's careful scrutiny of John Shakespeare's tangled affairs does not rule out this solution, but shows it to be improbable. The more likely cause is that public life was getting more difficult and dangerous for Catholics and Puritans. In 1592 John Shakespeare's name was included in the Recusancy Returns, his excuse being noted as "feare of processe for Debtte". We are still left guessing. If the excuse was true, he might equally well have been Anglican, Puritan or Catholic; if it was false, he was one of the latter two.

Something else is required to cut the knot, and that something is forthcoming. Mr. de Groot's achievement is that, boldly and surely, he applies to that whole mass of other evidence the twenty-year old discovery of Father H. Thurston, hitherto strangely neglected. But in order to be clear we must go further back and summarise a curious story. In 1784 the printer of the *Gentleman's Magazine* received from John Jordan, wheelwright and amateur antiquarian of Stratford, a copy of the incomplete spiritual will of one John Shakespeare. Jordan explained that his fellow-townsman, Mosely, a bricklayer, had found the original some years earlier under the tiling of the Shakespeare house in Henley Street. The twelfth of its fourteen articles and the general conclusion may be quoted as typical:—

> *Item*, I John Shakspear do in like manner pray and beseech all my dear friends, parents, and kinsfolks, by the bowels of our Saviour, jesus Christ, that since it is uncertain what lot will befall me, for fear notwithstanding least by reason of my sinnes I be to pass and stay a long while in purgatory, they will vouchsafe to assist and succour me with their holy prayers and satisfactory workes, especially with the holy sacrifice of the masse, as being the most effectual meanes to deliver soules from their torments and paines; from the which, if I shall by gods gracious goodnesse and by their vertuous workes be delivered, I do promise that I will not be ungratefull unto them, for so great a benefitt.
>
> I John Shakspear have made this present writing of protestation, confession, and charter, in presence of the blessed virgin mary, my Angell guardian, and all the Celestiall Court, as witnesses hereunto: the which my meaning is, that it be of full value now presently and for ever, with the force and vertue of testament, codicill, and donation in cause of death; confirming it anew, being in perfect health of soul and body, and signed with mine own hand; carrying also the same about me; and for the better declaration hereof, my will and intention is that it be finally buried with me after my death.
>
> Pater noster, Ave maria, Credo.
>
> jesu, son of David, have mercy on me. Amen.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* rejected this document as spurious. But when the original, a small paper book, evidently at first containing six leaves but then lacking the first, was sent by other hands to Edmond Malone, he thought it genuine. Jordan later on sent Malone a copy of the first page, extorted as he said from the dying Mosely; but the original manuscript of the page, after this brief and opportune emergence, had again disappeared. This first page has tended to weaken the whole document; among other suspicious things it uses almost the very words of the elder Hamlet: "I may be possibly cut off in the blossom of my sins." Malone, put on his guard by the Ireland forgeries, qualified his acceptance, and credit gradually ebbed from the document. In 1921 Mr. C. R. Haines could sum up the general attitude by saying: "The so-called will of John Shakespeare, an absurd rigmarole found like a dead mouse behind the wainscot of the birthplace, still meets with ardent champions among Roman Catholics." One such champion had been

Father Thurston, who in 1882 declared his belief, upon internal evidence, that the will, all but its first-page articles, was an authentic bit of Catholic writing of about 1600.

Thirty years later Thurston was able to clear the matter up decisively. The first three articles are indeed a forgery, but the rest is genuine. Thurston had come upon a Spanish version of this spiritual will, printed at Mexico City in 1661, and subsequently others turned up in Italian, French, and Romansch, each containing blanks for the insertion of the testator's name. Some copies ascribe the formulary to St. Charles Borromeo, who apparently composed it for those who might meet sudden death during the Milanese plague of 1576–78. Now Fathers Campion, Parsons and their companions stayed a week with St. Charles in May 1580, on their way to England. It seems that they must have made and taken with them manuscript English copies of the testament, no doubt as a means of marking definitely the recovery of individuals, from confusion or time-serving, to the ranks of the Church. In 1581 Dr. Allen wrote from Rheims to Rome: "Father Robert (Parsons) wants three or four thousand more of the Testaments, for many persons desire to have them." New Testaments cannot be meant, for even if the Rheims New Testament had been ready in 1581, which it was not, no such number could possibly be transported; the reference must be to such testaments as that subscribed by John Shakespeare, which alone survives. The likeliest date for John Shakespeare's testament is 1581, for the missionary harvest was then at its height—just before Campion and others were taken.

Father Thurston's discovery, applied by Mr. de Groot to the other records of John Shakespeare's doings, seems to put it beyond doubt that the Alderman was a Catholic from 1581, when his son was sixteen, until his death in 1601, when that son was thirty-six and had written or was writing *Hamlet*. It is exciting to think that Shakespeare's father may have taken his testament from Edmund Campion himself, who passed close enough to Stratford in 1581. But a more important question historically is whether the missioner, whoever it was, found John Shakespeare a Catholic or won him back from Anglicanism or indifference. The earlier abstention from civic life is the only clue, and it suggests fairly strongly that he was no new convert. That the poet's mother also was a Catholic seems a fair inference from her family history and from what we have come to know of her husband. She lived until 1608, and thus Shakespeare was visiting a Catholic parent every summer until he had finished the writing of his tragedies and had himself only eight more years to live.

It can be assumed that the poet was reared in a Catholic home. Mr. de Groot proceeds to inquire into the probable influence on his religious training of three institutions—a Catholic home, a school Catholic and Protestant by turns, a church always Protestant. He gives a good account of what an Elizabethan Catholic home, in the lack of public teaching and worship and of Catholic books, may be supposed to have retained of its traditional faith and practices. At the Grammar School, a Protestant catechism, with the Psalter and Book of Common Prayer, was taught; but two of the masters in the poet's schooldays were or became Catholics, and during their tenure at least the Protestantizing influence of the curriculum may have been slight indeed. The boys were required to attend regularly at the parish church, where they would hear, among other things, those Homilies which have lately been shown to form a near background to some parts of Shakespeare's thought.

Up to this point Mr. de Groot's book appears to me entirely satisfying, but now he seems to quit his evidence for conventional conclusions. He has proved a largely Catholic upbringing, but he assumes that it was thereafter a waning influence. Must mixed religious influences in fact produce a mixed result, or an amalgam superior to any of its constituent elements? "These counter-acting influences would

tend to cultivate in the boy William a spirit of understanding. The result in the mature dramatist was a tolerant attitude towards all religions. For himself, Shakespeare came to adopt a religion which rose above creeds and church organisations." Surely a boy in such circumstances might just as likely accept one influence and reject another. And is the notion of a religion which rose above creeds and church organisations really applicable to an Englishman of 1600? The one solid religious fact about Shakespeare, demonstrated by Mr. de Groot, is that his parents were Catholics. That he was a regular Anglican church-goer in later life is not a solid fact, though Mr. de Groot assumes it. He was indeed buried in an Anglican church, but Sir Edmund Chambers points out that this was not unusual for a seventeenth-century Catholic. Nor does Chambers, the most learned and judicious of Shakespeare's biographers, see any reason to dismiss as idle gossip the statement of Richard Davies, a Gloucestershire clergyman of the later seventeenth century, that Shakespeare " dyed a papist ". Mr. de Groot does not even mention this, for he regards Shakespeare's Catholicism as nothing but an early influence, however strong. It cannot be proved to have been more, but so far as the evidence goes it may have been.

Nearly one third of Mr. de Groot's book is given to a survey of Shakespeare's religious knowledge and sympathies as shown in the plays. As to Bible knowledge, there are some indications that he made use of a Rheims New Testament, but they are not decisive. He apparently possessed a Geneva Bible ; it was the cheapest and most current, and to use it was by no means a sign of Puritanism. He seems to have dipped into it often rather than read it systematically, and most of his quotations come from near the beginning of this book or that. He quotes the Bible without the restraint or respect of a conscientious Protestant—putting more of it into the mouth of Falstaff than of any other character.

There are many signs of respect for Catholicism. Priests, friars, nuns are generally idealised and never ridiculed, while parsons are always treated with levity. But indeed Shakespeare's exact understanding of and deep respect for the " Old Faith " are shown in his whole presentation of the Catholic Middle Ages in the History plays and of Catholic Europe in the comedies. Mr. de Groot shows in detail how he revised away the bitter anti-Catholicism of the older *King John*.

Mr. de Groot gives a host of instances of Shakespeare's exact knowledge of Catholic matters. The idea of Confession, for example, was so inbred in him that it provides an image like this :

> I have trusted thee, Camillo,
> With all the nearest things to my heart, as well
> My chamber-councils, wherein, priest-like, thou
> Hast cleans'd my bosom : I from thee departed
> Thy penitent reform'd.

Some of Mr. de Groot's instances are not well chosen. Shakespeare, like the modern English dialect speaker, might say *a month's mind*, in the sense of a hankering, a lingering desire, without knowing that the phrase derived from a Catholic custom ; *robes pontifical* are as much Anglican as Catholic ; *holy bread* in *As You Like It* does not refer to Holy Communion ; nor is it clear that *patines of bright gold* in *The Merchant of Venice* has any liturgical suggestion. But if a few examples must be deducted from the list, many more might easily be added to it. Nor on the other hand would it be easy to convict Shakespeare of any *errors* in the account of Catholic things. It should be noted that Catholic things and images do not grow fainter in the later plays, as one might expect if Mr. de Groot's assumption of a waning influence were true ; rather the contrary.

Mr. de Groot is content to show Shakespeare's Catholic knowledge and tendency

in incidental details. He eschews the more ambitious and hazardous quest of religious influences in character construction, plot, and the philosophic bearings of the whole. His general attitude to the plays is that of the critics of the last generation, whose Shakespeare was highly rationalised and unsupernatural. But more recent critics have shown that the thought of the plays is very medieval and very largely Catholic. One might instance the late R. W. Chambers's lectures on *Measure for Measure* and on *King Lear*, Dr. Tillyard's *Elizabethan World Picture*, Professor Theodore Spencer's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, Mr. S. L. Bethell's *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition*, and all the cloudy but sometimes lightning-flashing interpretations of Mr. Wilson Knight. Such books are the main Shakespeare criticism of the present time ; and Mr. de Groot's work, admirable as it is, might have been still better if he had taken account of them. J. J. H.

VARIA

THIS TREMENDOUS LOVER. By Fr. M. Eugene Boylan, O.C.R. Cork : Mercier Press. 1946. 12s. 6d.

THE author wears his science lightly and his spirituality deeply, which accounts, on the one hand, for the many merits of the book and, on the other, for the shadows which the ordinary reader will find obscuring his vision of pages here and there. Thus the illustration of the crystal to picture a truth of the supernatural order, beautiful though it be, will puzzle those—and they are many—who have never seen the experiment of the " mother liquor " ; so will " the peculiarity of the Mystical Body which we have called ' four-dimensional " (p. 42) and expressions like " reciprocal association " of points in the soul's life and Christ's. It is practically only the first fifty pages of the book of 337 pages which suffer in this way from the writer's erudition. Indeed, we advise an unscientific reader to imitate the thriller fan who thumbs the end of the novel to pick up the threads. Let him turn immediately to Chapter XXIV.

In this chapter he will find, with not a few passages of lyrical beauty to stimulate his taste, the key to the whole work : " The spiritual life—that is the real life of every Catholic—is a marriage with God. It is a marriage with God the Son, which begins for each one in the sharing of His nature at Baptism, which grows in a living intimacy and unity of operation during life, and which is intended to reach an ecstasy of consummated union in heaven . . . . It is a union in which God provides us with our dowry, with everything we need to fulfil our part . . . . It is, however, a union which perfects our nature and being, and elevates us to a new order by incorporation into Christ and by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, so that the Scripture can say that in Christ we are a ' new creature ' "(p. 324).

The " Tremendous Lover " is, of course, Jesus Christ. Attractively Fr. Boylan invites us, as did Philip Nathaniel, to " come and see " that we too may recognise the love of God visibly working at our doors in the Son of man. Many will like to linger over chapter XII, " Christ Our Food and Our Life ". In brief compass it resumes the theology of the Holy Communion, the greatest act of worship offered by the soul to God and, on God's part, the most wonderful transformation of the soul by love.

The book covers the whole range of spiritual activity, including the role of devotion to Mary, which should be at the heart of Catholic life. The treatment of humility is vigorous and inspiring for those particularly who may never have realised its beauty, rather looking askance at it in the light of an " inferiority complex". Married people will surely appreciate the delicate handling of the nobility of their state and the greatness of mind and heart which this very nobility should inspire.

In a book which is so much on the positive side and keeps us clear of the " don't

do this " spirituality of formalist and puritanical schools, it is a pity that the effects of original sin as a *privation*, not a *positive punishment*, of mankind should not be made clearer. We fear that the reader will carry away the idea of a nature *intrinsically wounded* from a passage on p. 10 in which we are told that, because of the devil's power combined with man's weakness, " one can see how well-nigh impossible it was for man to avoid adding his own personal sins to the sin of his first parents. Whatever chance for a child who died before the use of reason, there was no hope for the man who reached adult age, unless God took pity upon him". Such a sentence needs careful explanation, and is quite out of harmony with the approach made to us in the rest of the book by the " Tremendous Lover ".

G. B.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By the Revd. James Duff, M.A., D.D. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1947. Pp. xliv + 113. 8s. 6d.

THERE is discernible a great movement in the field of Patristic Studies. Series after series is announced from Europe and America. Much periodical literature is growing up in connection with this movement, in which not only scholars of Theology, Philosophy and History are engaged, but also many great *savants* of the Classical world. Dr. Duff is again to be congratulated for this new effort to give body and substance to our own dreams of a Patristic revival here; and the publishers deserve credit for their enterprise and the excellence of their work.

In giving selections from the *Confessions* of St. Augustine Dr. Duff has a great chance of winning our enthusiasm for his cause. Here is the moving picture of a great and sensitive soul in battle with the self, the world and the devil—a picture in which the lines are painted with a burning, vivid and sincere rhetoric. Few who have read this autobiography have remained emotionally unchanged or unchastened. And yet not all of it is of equal interest and power. Dr. Duff has shown admirable judgment in his selection. One can go to his book in the confidence that whatever is good and beautiful, powerful and important, in the original will be found here. As a setting for the text, the introduction is suitable, and the chapter-headings are particularly good.

It is unfortunate that the pedant must raise his head. The work aims at a certain level of scholarship, and according to that level it must be judged. The bibliography is not at all representative of what Dr. Duff must have used in his preparation. One cannot at this stage of Augustinian scholarship entirely ignore, in a book about the *Confessions*, the whole question of the historicity of that document. There is no discussion of the rôle of the Neo-Platonists in St. Augustine's conversion; nor is any attempt made to give Augustine's contemporary impression of the New Academic teaching at the time preceding his baptism. One feels, too, that more should be said about Cicero's *Hortensius* and about Augustine's own style. Lengthy treatment of any of those points would be out of place—but adequate statement and some direction is necessary.

We note a few smaller points: *Fifteen* (xl, l. 15) should be *five*. Augustine did not withdraw to Cassiciacum ' at the Vintage Vacation ' (p. 105) but after it (cf. *Contra Academicos* 4, and the question of the date of the Dialogues of Cassiciacum). The same book is referred to as *The Beautiful and Harmonious* (xi) and *The Beautiful and Fitting* (xxv). The spelling *Vergil* is found on p. xx and *Virgil* on p. 80 *Trigetius* on p. xxxi and p. 113 and *Trygetius* on p. xxxvi. But these are small points. The main thing is to have a representative selection of texts and an introduction which helps you to understand them. That Dr. Duff has done, and done admirably.

JOHN J. O'MEARA

A STUDY OF THE GOSPELS. By Rev. Thomas E. Bird, D.D., Ph.D. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1945. pp. 264. 4s. 6d.

THE CHURCH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Rev. Sebastian Bullough, O.P., M.A., S.T.L. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1945. pp. 256. 4s. 6d.

A SHORT LIFE OF OUR LORD. By Patrick J. Crean, Ph.D. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1945. pp. 228. 4s. 6d.

THESE three books are volumes in a series of "Scripture Textbooks for Catholic Schools", edited by Right Rev. Mgr. John M. T. Barton, English Consultor of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. When completed the Series will consist of seven volumes, of which those under review are the second, fifth, and sixth. Let it be said at the outset that the names of the General Editor and of the authors of these volumes carry a guarantee of competence, and an examination of their contents certainly does not belie that guarantee. The authors have brought to bear on their subjects thorough and up-to-date knowledge. Though written for boys and girls in their teens, these books could be read with profit by older people and would, I believe, bear examination by advanced Scripture scholars.

Dr. Bird's work consists of two parts—an Introduction giving in less than fifty pages, very clearly and intelligibly written, the back-ground of the New Testament. The remainder of the book consists of a Life of Our Lord, with the broad divisions clearly indicated and in numbered and headed paragraphs which are an aid to learning.

Father Bullough takes up the narrative where Dr. Bird leaves off. In other words his book is based on the Acts of the Apostles, which begin with our Lord's Ascension and end with St. Paul's sojourn in Rome. But there is much more in this book than the narrative of Acts. After a very brief but useful Introduction there is an excellent outline of the historical background—Roman, Greek, and Jewish—with a chronological table. Then every now and then there is a pause in the narrative filled by what the writer calls an interlude—on the Person of the Holy Ghost, on the Unity of the Church, on Religious Poverty, on the Idea of the Chosen People, on the Person of St. Paul, etc. etc. The narrative of Acts is divided into Sections or distinct episodes, and each section is divided into three parts: A. Significance; B. Story; C. Details. Part A endeavours to fix attention and arouse interest by stressing the importance of the episode in question.

Dr. Bird's book concludes with a select bibliography and Father Bullough's with no less than five indices. Both books have useful maps and both are illustrated. The pictures are for the most part reproduced from photographs of places in the Holy Land. The print is clear and the books are pleasant to handle.

Dr. Crean's book is intended for younger children from eleven upwards. It is the Gospel story told in a straightforward narrative and in language that is simple but by no means childish. It is divided into convenient sections with suitable headings. There are several useful maps and plans. My only quarrel is with the illustrations. They are reproductions of unusual photographs of the Holy Land. They would be quite interesting to adults, but it seems to me that simple drawings of scenes in our Lord's life would be far more interesting to those for whom the book is intended and would help them to visualise those scenes.

S. J. B.

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